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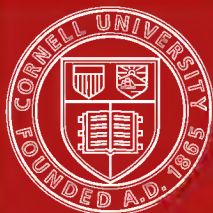
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CHARLES V AT THE AGE OF 48

From the portrait by Titian at Munich

ANNALS OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

BY

FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA

SPANISH TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

‘Escribió estas memorias un Español curioso que
notó todo lo que vió y oyó en sus días.’—SANDOVAL,
Historia de Carlos V, Vol. II, p. 104.

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PREFACE

WHEN, in February 1911, I chanced to come across the manuscript of Gómara's *Annals* in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, its importance to students of the history of the first half of the sixteenth century seemed to me sufficient to justify its publication; and since then I have found no reason to change that opinion. The description of Gómara's life and work contained in the Introduction leaves very little to be said by way of preface, but a few words about the rules by which I have been guided in transcription and translation, and the books which I have utilized in preparing the notes, may not be out of place.

In transcribing I have in general aimed at literal exactness, save in a few cases where clearness would have been sacrificed without any compensating gain, had I followed the vagaries of the scribe. Thus the original spelling has been preserved, and also the original capitalization of proper names. Obvious *lapsus calami* have been for the most part transcribed as they stand, and duly pointed out and corrected in the footnotes to the translation; on one or two very minor occasions, where it seemed pedantic to follow this course, and there could be no possible doubt as to the meaning, I have rectified them in the text itself without remark. Some of the more important variations of the British Museum manuscript, especially such as affected the sense of the passages in question, have also been indicated in the footnotes. Once I have ventured to emend a passage, which is obviously faulty in both the Madrid and London manuscripts, in accordance with Sandoval, who, as will afterwards appear, stole a number of paragraphs, almost

word for word, either from an earlier copy of the *Annals*, or possibly from the original itself: this matter is explained at length in footnote 6 to page 18. In the punctuation, I have thought it well, for clearness' sake, to make a number of changes, and practically to follow the modern use. In the matter of accentuation, the scribe seems to have evolved a method of his own, chiefly distinguished by complete inconsistency. After some hesitation I have decided to retain such accents as the manuscript shows on final stressed vowels and antepenults, but to disregard those which, in anticipation of a very modern usage, have been placed by the scribe on final syllables which end with a consonant.

In the translation also I have striven for exactness first of all. Possibly some readers may think that I have sacrificed smoothness and elegance in the process, but it has seemed to me that such features of the original as the rapid changes of tense, which constantly occur, are too characteristic to be left out. A few passages have proved practically untranslatable: in these cases I have made the best guess I could, and indicated my doubts in a footnote. The bracket [] signifies that the word or words enclosed have been supplied by me to make the meaning clear.

The matter of annotation has been very troublesome, principally because it has been so hard to know where to stop. I have striven to test every sentence in the *Annals* by other authors, contemporary or modern, and in the hope of making that thankless task lighter for those who may subsequently use Gómara's work, I have set down, in almost every case, at least one reference to a corroborative or contradictory statement in another book. Possibly I may have overdone it. Whenever I have discovered positive errors of fact, I have corrected them; but I can scarcely venture to hope that none of these has slipped by unnoticed. The references in the Introduction to the

'*Annals*' always apply to the English translation; references to the 'Text' apply to the original.

To append a bibliography to a book like this would have been, in my estimation, ridiculous. The field covered by the *Annals* is so vast, that anything like a complete list of the works which deal with it would have reached literally thousands of titles. I have therefore striven to limit myself to a few standard authorities and the most recent modern monographs. In the latter case, the references in the foot-notes are sufficiently specific to enable the student to look up the passages in question himself. The following list indicates the editions of some of the more frequently republished standard works which I have used, and will, I trust, make it perfectly easy to follow my traces for those who may desire to do so.

- Carvajal, Lorenzo Galindez. *Anales Breves*. In Volume XVIII of the Documentos Inéditos (Madrid, 1851), pp. 227-421.
- Gómara, Francisco López de. *Historia General de las Indias*. In Volume XXII of Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1852), pp. 155-455.
- *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*. In Volume VI of the *Memorial Histórico Español* (ed. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1853), pp. 331-439.
- Guicciardini, Francesco. *Istoria d'Italia*. 4 vols. Fribourg, 1775-6.
- Jovius, Paulus (Giovio Paulo). *Istoria del suo Tempo*. 2 vols. Venice, 1572.
- Mignet, M. *Rivalité de François 1^{er} et de Charles-Quint*. 3rd edition. 2 vols. Paris, 1886.
- Prescott, W. H. *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*. 4th edition. 3 vols. London, 1846.
- *The Conquest of Peru*. 2 vols. New York, 1850.
- Sandoval, Prudencio de. *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V.* 2 vols. Antwerp, 1681.
- Ticknor, George. *History of Spanish Literature*. 3 vols. New York, 1849.

References to the works of Bernáldez, Martyr, and Zurita are given by book and chapter, not by page and volume, and thus apply to all editions.

I have received much help from many friends and colleagues, both here and in Europe, in the preparation of this book—far more, in fact, than I can adequately acknowledge here. Special thanks, however, are due to the authorities and archivists of the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid for permission to transcribe and publish the manuscript of the *Annals*, and for much valuable aid in deciphering the script; to Professor Alfred Morel-Fatio of the Collège de France, for many helpful suggestions in regard to the early history of the *Annals* themselves; and to Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum, who made it possible for me to insert the more important variations of the London manuscript, which, owing to an error in the Museum index to Gayangos' catalogue, I failed to find when I was in England. I am grateful to Professor Leo Wiener of Harvard for aid in the identification of proper names and to Professor C. N. Greenough of Harvard for criticism on points of style; and I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Robinson of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, who has compiled the index, for saving me from a number of inconsistencies of nomenclature in the translation. Above all, however, I would emphasize my very deep sense of obligation to Professor J. D. M. Ford of Harvard and to Professor James Fitzmaurice-Kelly of the University of Liverpool, who have read through the text, translation, and introduction with the most painstaking and unselfish care, and whose generous guidance and counsel have aided and encouraged me at every turn. It is hardly necessary for me to add that none of these gentlemen can in any way be held responsible for such errors and blemishes as this book contains. Any merits which it may possess are in large measure due to them: its faults are my own.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
June, 1912.

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INTRODUCTION

I

GÓMARA'S LIFE¹

FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA was born on Sunday morning, the 2nd of February, 1511, in the town of Gómara near Soria in Old Castile.² No records of his family and antecedents have come down to us, save a subsequent mention of a nephew named Pedro Ruiz, which proves that he was not an only child.³ I have failed to discover any authority for Vedia's statement that he was a student and professor of Rhetoric at the University of Alcalá;⁴ but we know that he became a priest,⁵ and in 1531, at the age of twenty, was at Rome.⁶ His writings indicate an unusually accurate knowledge of minor events at the papal court at that period; and it is natural to suppose that he was either in the employ of one of the many Spanish representatives there, or possibly in the service of Clement VII himself.

The next glimpse of our author shows him in Venice in

¹ The only serious attempt to write a life of Gómara is that of Enrique de Vedia, on pages xiii to xv of volume xxii of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*: the article about him in the *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* is virtually a copy of it. It contains a number of positive mistakes, omits many important details, and fails to cite any authority for most of its facts: I have not accepted any of its statements unless I have been able to corroborate them from some other source. Much information can be gleaned from Gómara's own works and those of his contemporaries, as well as from certain documents concerning his books in the Archivo General de Indias, Estante 139, Cajón 1, Legajo 11. Tomo 23 fol. 8, and Tomo 24 fol. 291, which have been printed in J. T. Medina's *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, vol. i, pp. 259-76. Cf. also C. Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, pp. 90-7.

² See below, *Annals*, p. 32.

³ Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 267.

⁴ The fact that his name does not appear in Rezabal y Ugarte's *Biblioteca de los Escritores que han sido Individuos de los seis Colegios Mayores* is strong negative evidence that he never went to the University.

⁵ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xxii. 156; Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Lib. II, cap. cxiv; A. de León Pinelo, *Epítome de la Biblioteca*, &c. (edition of 1737), column 589, calls Gómara a 'presbytero'.

⁶ See below, *Annals*, pp. 63 and 91.

1540 with Hurtado de Mendoza, the son of the Count of Tendilla;¹ and the question naturally arises whether he had remained in Italy ever since 1531 or gone home to Spain in the interim. Positive proof is not forthcoming, but there is much to be said in favour of the former alternative. In the first place, the very remarkable knowledge of Italy and Italians evinced on almost every page of his *Annals of Charles V* cannot well be explained save on the assumption of an extended residence there; and in the second, Gómara himself tells us of long conversations which he held with Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, in Bologna and in Venice,² and which could only have occurred during that decade. But whatever the case about the period previous to 1540, we can be certain that Gómara's Italian residence terminated in 1541, for we know that he was present at the disastrous siege of Algiers in October and November of that year.³ It is in fact highly probable that he left Italy with the Imperial expedition, which sailed from Spezzia on September 28.⁴

It was either during the Algerian campaign or else shortly before it, that Gómara first made the acquaintance of the man whose servant, chaplain, and apologist he afterwards became,⁵ Hernando Cortés—the Conqueror of Mexico. Cortés returned to Spain from America for the last time in the year 1540, and joined the Spanish expedition against Algiers led by Alva and Bernardino de Mendoza, which united with the Emperor's forces off the North African coast October 23, 1541. It is evident from Gómara's own writings that he knew Cortés at the time of the siege; his account of the latter's offer to capture the town after the Emperor's decision to withdraw, may be accepted as proof of it. One also feels, instinctively, that Gómara

¹ *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vi. 430.

² Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias* in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xxii. 159, 162.

³ *Ibid.* xxii. 454, and *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, pp. 433-4 n.

⁴ Vandenesse, *Journal des Voyages*, &c.: in vol. ii of *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*, p. 193.

⁵ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Lib. III, cap. cxiv.

would gladly have dwelt longer on this matter, had he not been afraid of incurring Charles's displeasure; and the excuse that he offers for the Emperor's failure to accept Cortés' proposal is singularly lame and insufficient.¹ The daring and heroism of the Conqueror of Mexico had clearly fascinated him. By the time that the ill-fated expedition, storm-shattered and disheartened, had struggled back to the Spanish coast, our author had doubtless been definitely taken over, at the age of thirty, into the service of the man 'who had given the Emperor more provinces than His Majesty possessed cities'.

Cortés spent the next few years in a vain attempt to secure some recognition and reward for the immense services which he had rendered to the Spanish Crown.² To this end he was continually forced to dance attendance at the Castilian Court, which, after the Emperor's departure for Italy in the spring of 1543, resided most of the time at Valladolid. From that town he addressed his last touching appeal to the absent Emperor in February, 1544;³ on learning of its failure he retired to Seville, with the intention of returning to Mexico, but was overtaken by death in the little town of Castilleja de la Cuesta, December 2, 1547.⁴ We may be reasonably certain that Gómara, as his friend and chaplain, was the faithful companion of Cortés' declining years; and, moreover, the dedication of our author's *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, to Pedro Alvarez Osorio, Marquis of Astorga and father of Alvar Pérez Osorio, who was at that time engaged to the daughter of Cortés, furnishes additional evidence to that effect.⁵ We may also safely assume that Gómara's career as a historian began soon after his entrance into Cortés' service, and at the suggestion and inspiration of his master. We know that he was engaged on his *Historia General de las Indias* and on his *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* at the same time, for the undated

¹ *Hist. de las Indias*, 454; *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, 433.

² *Hist. de las Indias*, 454.

³ Printed in MacNutt's *Letters of Cortés to Charles V*, pp. 62-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, 331-8: *Hist. de las Indias*, 454.

dedication of the first part of the former work speaks of the composition of the latter as contemporaneous. We know that he had written a part at least of the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* in 1544; and he finished it, if the date of its dedication can be accepted as evidence, at Valladolid in September, 1545.¹

But before passing on to any detailed description of Gómara's historical writings, it remains for us to record such facts as have come down to us concerning the latter years of his life. There can be little question that it was spent for the most part at Valladolid, whither he doubtless returned directly after Cortés' death. The descriptions of events in that town, given below in the *Annals*² under the years 1548 and 1549, could scarcely have been the work of one who was not an eye witness, and Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios Reales del Perú* definitely state that Gómara was in Valladolid after 1552, when the *Historia General de las Indias* was first put forth.³ It is possible that the government's prohibition of the latter work in November, 1553⁴ (of which a full account will be given hereafter), caused Gómara to retire into comparative seclusion after that date: but if so, he seems to have managed to keep in very close touch with outside affairs, as is shown by the events recorded in the last three years of the *Annals*. It is impossible to fix the year of his death. It certainly occurred later than June 10, 1557—the date of the accession of King Sebastian to the throne of Portugal—for the *Annals* speak of that monarch as reigning at the time when they were written:⁵ it certainly occurred before Sept. 26, 1572, for a document of that date, to which reference will hereafter be made, speaks of him as deceased at the time;⁶ it probably occurred before 1566, for we know that some of

¹ *Hist. de las Indias*, 156; *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, 333, 338, 347.

² Cf. *Annals*, pp. 138-9 and 142.

³ *Comentarios Reales*, Parte II, Libro V, cap. xl.

⁴ Printed in J. T. Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, vol. i, pp. 264-5; cf. also below, pp. xvii-xix.

⁵ Cf. *Annals*, p. 151.

⁶ Cf. below, p. xix; Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 266.

his papers were found in the hands of his nephew and heir in or about that year.¹ The fact that the *Annals* end with the Emperor's retirement to Yuste in 1556 instead of continuing to the more natural stopping-place, his death, in September, 1558, can hardly be taken to indicate that the author died before his subject, in view of the limits laid down in the first paragraph of that work; but the absence of any definite information in regard to Gómara after 1557 is strong negative evidence that he did not live much later than that year.

II

THE CRÓNICA DE LOS BARBARROJAS AND THE HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS INDIAS

The only works of our author that have come down to us are the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, the *Historia General de las Indias* and the *Annales de Carlos Quinto*. We have seen that the first two were probably begun at about the same time, soon after Gómara became chaplain to Cortés, who doubtless supplied the inspiration for both, and much of the material for the second.² We have also seen that the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* was probably finished in the autumn of 1545; but it remained unpublished until the year 1853.³ The far more famous and ambitious *Historia General de las Indias* was completed between the beginning of the year 1551 (it records events which occurred at that date) and December 24, 1552, when the printing of the first

¹ Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 268. The fact that Honorato Juan, Bishop of Osma, is reported as having spoken, just before his death in 1566, of the friendship 'that he *had* felt' for Gómara, strengthens the theory that our author died before that year. On the other hand it is to be noted that the royal *cédula* of that date in regard to Gómara's books does not speak of his decease, though this may be explained on the ground that it was merely a reissue of a *cédula* first put forth in 1553. Medina, i. 265, 266, 267.

² Cf. above, pp. xi-xii.

³ It was printed in that year in the *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. vi, pp. 331-439, from a manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia. Another manuscript copy is now in the Biblioteca Nacional.

edition was finished in Saragossa.¹ A word or two about each of these works is necessary, before we can intelligently approach the problem of the production and salient characteristics of the *Annales de Carlos Quinto*.

The *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* contains an accurate and vivid account of the deeds of the two famous pirates in the Mediterranean sea and on the North African coast, and of the efforts of the Spaniards, Venetians, and the Knights of St. John to withstand them. It begins with a brief sketch of the rise of the Turkish power in Asia Minor and South-Eastern Europe, and ends with the year 1544. It is about thirty thousand words in length. Gómara himself constantly refers to it in his other works as *Las Batallas de Mar de Nuestros Tiempos*,² a fact which led Nicolás Antonio and others into the error of supposing that Gómara had put forth two different books on this topic:³ the fact that no separate manuscript with the latter title has as yet been discovered, and that the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* contains a passage which tallies exactly with a reference in the *Historia de las Indias* to the *Batallas de Mar de Nuestros Tiempos*, may be accepted as evidence sufficient to disprove this theory.⁴ The dedication to the prospective son-in-law of Cortés is well worth reading; Gómara speaks of a plan, already partly accomplished, to rewrite the book in Latin; but then goes on to say that he had finally decided to publish it in the vernacular in the first place, in order 'to advance the name and fame of our noble language', as Pedro Mejía and other good and learned men had recently attempted to do.⁵

The accuracy of Gómara's story of the exploits of the famous pirates is attested by its close correspondence to the contemporary Arabic accounts of the same events. Comparisons reveal only trivial divergences.⁶ Sandoval, the famous historian of Charles V, was well acquainted with

¹ *Hist. de las Indias*, 282; Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 250, 278.

² Cf. *Annals*, p. 32; *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 324.

³ *Biblioteca Hispanu Nova*, i. 437-8.

⁴ *Hist. de las Indias*, 324; *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, 363, 433-4 n.

⁵ *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, 337, 338.

⁶ *Ibid.* 330.

Gómara's work, and fully aware of its excellence. His account of the *Origen de Barbarrojas* is clearly copied directly from Gómara's *Crónica*,¹ which he has also obviously made use of in other places as well.² His indebtedness to it, however, is but slight, as the sequel will show, when compared to his plagiarisms from the *Annales de Carlos Quinto*.

The *Historia General de las Indias*, like the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, is known by more than one title. The work falls into two separate divisions, each with a dedication of its own—the first to the Emperor, the second to the son and heir of Cortés: and while the name *Historia General de las Indias* is usually loosely applied to the entire work, it refers, in a more accurate and restricted sense, to the first of these two divisions, which tells of all the deeds of the Spaniards in the New World up to the middle of the sixteenth century, except the Conquest of Mexico. The second division, which deals exclusively with that event, is sometimes called the *Segunda Parte de la Crónica General de las Indias*; but more often the *Conquista de Méjico*. The name *Hispania Victrix* is attached to the whole work in the edition of 1553 at Medina del Campo, and there are also other titles.³ Again, as with the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, Gómara tells us that it was his ultimate intention to rewrite the *Historia General de las Indias* in Latin, but that he preferred to publish it in the vernacular in the first place 'in order that all our Spaniards might enjoy reading it immediately'.⁴ The beginning of a Latin translation was found among Gómara's papers after his death.⁵

The merits and defects of the *Historia General de las Indias* have been too often described to need repetition here.⁶ It is brilliantly written, vastly entertaining, and

¹ *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, 350 ff., and Sandoval, i. 64 ff.

² E. g. Sandoval, ii. 63; *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, pp. 395-6.

³ Cf. the list of the different editions in Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 250, 259, 270-3.

⁴ *Hist. de las Indias*, 156.

⁵ Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 267.

⁶ In addition to the works already cited, cf. Winsor, *Narrative and*

obviously the work of an able and intelligent man. It contains numerous errors of detail, to which Bernal Diaz del Castillo delighted to draw attention; indeed there are some parts of his *Conquest of New Spain* which seem to have been written for the sole purpose of contradicting and abusing Gómara.¹ Many of the latter's mistakes are of course due to the fact that he never went to America, and so had to get his material at second-hand,² but by far the most important thing to be remembered about the book in this connexion is that the entire story was necessarily coloured because of the author's position as chaplain and follower of Cortés. The whole of the *Conquista de Méjico* really resolves itself into an extravagant apology and glorification of Cortés and all his acts: every victory gained is represented as being due to *his* energy and genius, every defeat to the incompetence or disobedience of his subordinates; and more space is devoted to the Conquest of Mexico than to all the other deeds of the Spanish *conquistadores* put together. Small wonder that such a presentation of the drama roused the ire of an old soldier like Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who was personally present and played a prominent part in the scenes he described, and who held that since 'the plans, the resolves, and their execution were the common work of all, so should the glory be equally shared by all'. But Gómara had the enormous advantage of being able to get his book out first; the mass of the Spanish nation were eager for information about the New World, and neither in the mood nor the position to criticize the historical accuracy of an author whose intimate relation to the greatest of the

Critical History of America, ii. 412-14; Fueter, *Neuere Historiographie*, pp. 299-300.

¹ Cf. the various references to Gómara in the excellent translation of the *Conquest of New Spain* recently brought out by the Hakluyt Society; also Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 157.

² I have not thought it worth while to refute the statement in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, that Gómara passed four years in America. It is contradicted by every probability of the case and by the specific statements of contemporaries like Las Casas, who says that Gómara never saw nor heard a thing about these matters save what Cortés told him and gave him in writing when he was his chaplain. Cf. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, Lib. III, cap. cxiv.

Conquistadores they doubtless regarded as a distinction. The enormous popularity of Gómara's work in Spain and the Spanish dominions is sufficiently attested by the fact that it was twice reprinted in Medina del Campo and in Saragossa and five times in Antwerp within less than two years after its first appearance; while abroad the eighteen or twenty foreign translations of the whole or part of it, which were put forth in Rome, Venice, Paris, London and elsewhere before the end of the century, give ample evidence to the same effect.¹

But the Spanish government viewed the book of the hour with very different eyes. On November 17, 1553, at Valladolid, Prince Philip put his signature to a *cédula* commanding that all copies of Gómara's book be seized and brought to the Council of the Indies, and that fines of 200,000 maravedís be imposed on all who continued to print or sell the same, and of 100,000 maravedís on all who read it or kept it in their possession, 'because it is not fitting that this book be read or sold or that other copies of it be printed.'² No more explicit information concerning the real cause of this stern edict is given in the document itself, but there is no reason to doubt that it was Gómara's extravagant praises of his master that aroused the displeasure of the authorities.³ The sovereigns of the House of Hapsburg were not wont to be generous to their servants, particularly when they became so powerful that they threatened to overshadow the sovereignty of the Crown. As early as 1526 the Emperor had seen the danger of leaving Cortés a perfectly free hand in the territories which he had won; hence the various measures of the next fourteen years by which the authority of the great *Conquistador* was gradually withdrawn.⁴ Most of the accusations of base ingratitude hurled at Charles

¹ Cf. list in Medina, i. 250, 259, 270-3, 278-80.

² Printed in Medina's *Biblioteca*, i. 264-5.

³ A. de León Pinelo in his *Epítome de la Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental, Náutica y Geográfica* (edition of 1737), column 589, speaks of Gómara's work as a 'historia libre' (which of course may mean any one of a number of things), and ascribes its suppression to that characteristic.

⁴ Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V*, ii. 93-5.

because of his treatment of Cortés after the latter's return to Spain, have doubtless been grossly exaggerated; but it is clear that the Emperor wished to diminish the prominence of the hero of the hour, so that a frank panegyric, published five years after Cortés' death, before his glorious memory had had a chance to fade—an *apologia*, which placed him very much in the centre of the stage—was bound to be exceedingly unwelcome to his sovereign. Charles was absent in Germany and the Netherlands at the time of the publication of Gómara's work; but his son Philip, who represented him in Spain, was doubtless well informed of his views, and concurred in them; hence the *cédula* of November 17, 1553, and the measures that were subsequently taken to enforce it. The story of these measures and of the success with which they were attended is both interesting for its own sake and pertinent to the subject of our main inquiry, the *Annales de Carlos Quinto*.

The first evidence of the government's activities in this direction is given by a record of eleven booksellers of the town of Seville who were solemnly notified of the royal *cédula*, haled before the authorities, duly sworn, forced to deliver up such copies of Gómara's work as they had in stock, and to do their utmost to put the royal officials on the track of those which they had already disposed of.¹ Apparently there is no record of similar proceedings in other Castilian towns; but there is no intrinsic reason for supposing that the booksellers of the other parts of that realm did not share the fate of their brethren in Seville. In Aragon, indeed, there was another tale to tell, for a new edition of Gómara's book was actually put forth at Saragossa in 1554; the government's control of the affairs of the eastern kingdom being doubtless too imperfectly organized and tardily enforced, to permit the effective application of any system of press-censorship there. But in Castile the authorities never slackened their efforts. On August 7, 1566, the *cédula* of 1553 was reissued by King Philip from Bosque

¹ All the documents bearing on this and the next paragraph are printed in Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 262-70.

de Segovia, and six years later, on September 26, 1572, a royal mandate was sent to Juan de Salazar, *corregidor* of Soria, ordering him to send some careful and trustworthy person to the town of Gómara to search for and seize such papers dealing with the affairs of the Indies as could be found in the hands of the heirs of the late Francisco López of that place. Salazar received this mandate on the third of October, selected Martín García, a public actuary, for the mission in question, and the latter reported directly to the king. On his arrival at Gómara García betook himself directly to the house of the priest, Pedro Ruiz, the nephew of our author, in whose possession the papers of his uncle were said to be. A prolonged examination of Ruiz's manuscripts showed that they contained nothing relative to the affairs of the Indies, but it is interesting to notice that a copy of the Saragossa (1554) edition of the *Historia General de las Indias* was found among his books, and, moreover, that he was allowed to retain it, on his promise to deliver it up at any time it should be asked for, 'because it was public and notorious, and there were many other copies of it elsewhere.' Was this a special exemption granted to Ruiz on account of his relationship to Gómara, or are we to infer that the government had by this time abandoned its attempt to suppress the work as utterly impossible of accomplishment?

Whatever may be the answer to this question, it is certain that the authorities continued to prosecute their search for Gómara's manuscripts with unabated zeal. In addition to showing García what he still retained, Ruiz was obliged to tell him what papers of his uncle he had previously sold or given away, and to whom, and to swear with his hand on his heart and by the priest's garb that he wore, that he knew of no others than those he described. Efforts to trace the manuscripts of which he had disposed were made in every case; only two of them, however, concern us here: one of these Ruiz described as *Historia de guerras navales desde el año que nació el Emperador Don Carlos nuestro Señor*, the other as *Inquiridion de cosas notables acaescidas*

por mar y por tierra en tiempo del mismo Emperador Don Carlos, nuestro Señor, hasta el que murió. It is not difficult to recognize the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* and the *Annales de Carlos Quinto* under these two titles; the inaccuracy of Ruiz's memory concerning them may well be accounted for by the fact that he had disposed of them six years before. They were given by him, so he said, to Honorato Juan, Bishop of Osma, tutor to Don Carlos,¹ and secretary of the town of Gómara, when he was on a visit there, and the Bishop had promised to publish them for the love he had borne to Francisco López de Gómara, and to give the profits of their sale to Ruiz. The Bishop then departed and a few days later died (July 30, 1566)² at Burgo de Osma, in his see. Ruiz, on hearing this news, at once repaired to Burgo de Osma, in order to recover his documents, but was told by the Bishop's servants that he could not have them, because Prince Charles had given orders that all the dead man's books and papers be immediately sent to him, which had been done. At this point we lose sight of what was doubtless the original manuscript of the *Annales de Carlos Quinto*. Whether it passed into the Royal Archives of the Crown of Castile (as seems likely enough in view of the fact that Philip had the papers of Don Carlos seized at the time of his arrest in January, 1568), or into private hands, it is impossible definitely to tell. Diligent search has failed to reveal any traces of it to-day. Our knowledge of the *Annales de Carlos Quinto* is therefore derived from two copies of the original manuscript made at a later date, which are, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the only ones now in existence.³ The description of these two copies and the discussion of

¹ *Annals*, p. 151.

² Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 57.

³ I have searched in vain in the Biblioteca Nacional, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Library of the Real Academia de la Historia, and in the Archives of Simancas for any trace of the original or other copy of it. Señor F. de Laiglesia's valuable catalogue of the manuscripts relating to Charles V at the Escorial (*Estudios Históricos*, pp. 447-66) does not mention it; and I have found no evidence of the existence of the original or any copy of it in any archives outside of Spain save in the British Museum, as explained below.

their possible connexion with the original, must be reserved for the succeeding chapter.

III

THE ANNALES DE CARLOS QUINTO

The first of the two copies of the *Annales de Carlos Quinto* which have come down to us is to be found on folios 1-85 of the volume labelled G. 53 in the Colección de Manuscritos in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.¹ The text hereinafter printed has been transcribed from it. The other copy occupies the first 120 folios of the volume designated as 'Kings MS. 165' in the British Museum.² Its variations from the Madrid manuscript are not important; when they affect the sense of the passage in any appreciable degree they have been inserted in the footnotes to the translation. Both these copies were unquestionably made in the seventeenth century. At the end of the volume which contains the one in the British Museum is a colophon stating that 'the transcription was finished on the eve of Corpus Christi in the year 1635, and was made, apparently, from the original, which had belonged to Don Antonio de Çayas and afterwards to Don Sancho de Londoño'.³ It is not absolutely certain that the colophon applies to the copy of the *Annals*, because a work by another author⁴ on the Tunis campaign of 1535 occupies at least sixty folios of the volume in question, and thus intervenes between the two:

¹ Cf. also Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 94.

² Cf. P. de Gayangos, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*, vol. i, pp. 219-20.

³ Cf. Gayangos, *Catalogue*, i, 219-20. The text of the colophon is 'Acavosse de trasladar en Madrid, vispera del Corpus del año de 1635, y sacose, á lo que parecia, de su original, que auia sido de Don Antonio de Çayas, y despues de Don Sancho de Londoño'. After quoting the above, and stating on his own authority that the work is in a seventeenth-century hand, Gayangos naively adds: 'From Dr. Robertson's collection, and probably transcribed for his use.' The first clause of this sentence is unproved, the last obviously impossible.

⁴ He describes himself as 'Un cavallero y soldado viejo de los de la Cesarea Mag^d del Emperador Carlos V': Gayangos thinks he was D. Luis de Avila y Zúñiga.

still, as the entire volume is written in the same hand, the probabilities favour the theory that it does.

Any account of these manuscripts and their possible relation to the original must necessarily be largely a matter of conjecture, but there are certain facts in connexion with them which deserve at least a passing notice. Any theories concerning the antecedents of the copy in London must necessarily depend on the accuracy of the colophon. If it is exact and applies to that manuscript, it would make for the contention that the original passed into private hands (Antonio de Çayas and Sancho de Londoño, whoever they may have been) after having been seized by the representatives of Don Carlos: but, as has been already shown, we cannot be certain of the colophon; and, moreover, we must recognize the possibility at least that manuscript and colophon were both transcribed from an earlier copy and not from the original. There is, moreover, no trustworthy evidence as to how the manuscript in question got to England and into the Museum; Gayangos' assertion that it belonged to Dr. Robertson is unproved,¹ and even if true, it does not take us back of the middle of the eighteenth century. The Madrid copy, on the other hand, lacks any specific indication of its origin, but the probabilities favour the theory that it was obtained from the library of the famous seventeenth-century collector, Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, Count of Villaumbrosa, who is known to have possessed a copy,² and many of whose treasures, dispersed in Spain after his death, ultimately found their way into what is now the Biblioteca Nacional. Where Villaumbrosa acquired his manuscript it is impossible definitely to say. Nicolás Antonio speaks as if it were identical with a copy which was found in the library of the famous Count of Olivares, the all-powerful minister of Philip IV;³ and the fact that both Olivares and Villaumbrosa belonged to the

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. xxi, note 3.

² *Museo y biblioteca del conde de Villaumbrosa* por Don Josef Maldonado y Pardo (Madrid, 1677); *Libros Manuscritos*, fol. 112.

³ *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*, i. 438.

same great house of Guzmán may possibly serve slightly to strengthen this theory.¹ Olivares had access to the Royal archives and may well have known and had transcribed for his own use the original, which was seized by the agents of Don Carlos, if it remained there : but we must not forget that if the colophon at the end of the volume in the British Museum is to be trusted, there is reason to think that the original had passed into private hands.² All this, however, is mere guess-work ; we have not sufficient information to justify any definite statements, and we can only say that we have somewhat more material out of which to construct theories about the pedigree of the Madrid manuscript than about that of the copy in the British Museum. The fact that the variations between the two manuscripts are so comparatively few and slight affords good ground for believing that they were both transcribed, either directly or at most in two stages, from a common source, which may well have been the original ; and the statement in each that a page is missing at the close of the year 1549 materially strengthens this view.³

Three interesting problems present themselves in connexion with the composition of the *Annals*, and must be briefly discussed before we can proceed to an examination of their contents. First and foremost comes the question of the year or years in which they were written. If the entire work was composed at substantially the same time, without subsequent emendation or alteration, its date can be fixed with considerable accuracy. The mention in the year 1535 of Mary Tudor as ' Our Lady ',⁴ places it between July, 1554, when she married Philip, and December, 1558, when her

¹ Against this theory it may be urged that a manuscript catalogue of the Biblioteca Olivariense (printed in Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca*, vol. iv, columns 1486 and 1490) refers to the manuscript there as a quarto, while Maldonado y Pardo, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the Villaumbrosa copy as an octavo. The line of demarcation between quartos and octavos, however, is so indefinite, that it is unsafe to place too much reliance on such data ; moreover, the copy now in the Biblioteca Nacional is of such proportions that it would be equally possible to describe it by either of these two terms.

² Cf. *ante*, note 3.

³ *Annals*, p. 143.

⁴ *Annals*, p. 100.

death (Nov. 17) must have been known in Spain: the statement in the year 1554 that Sebastian 'is now king'¹ in Portugal, narrows the field still further, by placing the earlier limit at June 10, 1557. On the other hand there are certain indications which point to the possibility at least that the composition of the *Annals* was spread over a number of years. The nature of the work closely resembles that of a diary; and Sandoval's remark concerning it² tends to strengthen that impression: moreover, we know that it was a favourite custom with Spanish authors of that period to keep their books by them, unfinished, for a long time, adding a little every now and then, so that sometimes as many as twenty years elapsed between the inception of a work and its completion.³ Personally, I incline strongly to favour the first of these two alternatives and to believe that the composition of the *Annals* fell wholly within the years 1557 and 1558. We have already seen that there is no reason to suppose that Gómara turned his attention to the writing of history before he entered Cortés' service in 1541; the brief paragraph in regard to his own birth and career which appears under the year 1511 was clearly reduced to its final form after 1552, because he there speaks of the *Historia General de las Indias* as already finished; moreover, the motives which probably led Gómara to produce the *Annals* (they will be discussed at length hereafter) tend to corroborate the view that the work was written within a comparatively limited period. Those who think, however, that its peculiar diarial character indicates that its composition was spread over a number of years, can plausibly argue that it was begun at a comparatively early date, and subsequently corrected so as to give it the appearance of having been all written at the close of the period with which it deals.⁴

The second question is whether the *Annals*, as they have come down to us, were intended to be a finished work, or

¹ *Annals*, p. 151.

² Quoted on the title-page of this book.

³ As, for instance, in the case of the *Dorotea* of Lope de Vega.

⁴ The question of the date of the death of Florian de Ocampo, discussed below in note 4 to p. xxxi, bears on this problem.

whether they were merely a set of notes which Gómara ultimately proposed to expand into a book of much larger proportions. The probabilities of this case are so evenly balanced that it is almost impossible to choose between them. In the *Annals* of Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal he had an excellent example of a book which was apparently regarded as complete in a form similar to that of his own; while in the *Historia sui Temporis* of Jovius, he had a pattern of a much more finished product. Some of the passages of the *Annals* are carefully and brilliantly written, and display the author's marked literary gifts as fully as do his other works—such are the characterizations of Francis I, Henry VIII, and Martin Luther, and the story of the 'Alguazil Español':¹ others are brief, scrappy, and incomplete, full of careless mistakes and *lapsus calami*, more like a set of notes jotted down in a hurry than a book ready for publication. The fact that Gómara's nephew Pedro Ruiz spoke of the *Annals* as an 'Inquiridion' (Encheiridion), and that Jules Chifflet, in the seventeenth century, referred to them as 'Index historicus rerum a Carolo Quinto gestarum', may be used as an argument for both sides of this question: and it has already been shown in another connexion that the fact that the work stops with the Emperor's abdication in 1556, rather than with his death in 1558, goes for nothing, in view of the limitations announced in the opening sentences of the first paragraph of the book.² Much of course depends on the still unsolved problem of the date of Gómara's death. If, as seems probable, it occurred soon after 1557, it would make for the contention that the work was left unfinished; but if not, the fact that no evidence was found among his papers, indicating his intention to produce a larger book, is a point for the other side. Certainly, with our present knowledge, this question is not susceptible of a definite answer.

Thirdly comes the problem as to what the object of Gómara was in writing the *Annals of Charles V*, so soon

¹ *Annals*, pp. 53, 125, 129 ff.

² Cf. *ante*, p. xiii.

after the government had decreed the suppression of his *Historia General de las Indias*; and all the probabilities point to the conclusion that our author's chief aim was to secure a return of the royal favour. An obvious way to atone for his error in magnifying the exploits of Cortés, was to write a universal history of the period, and place Charles in the centre of the stage. The article on Gómara in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle* hazards the absurd guess that the reason the *Annals* were never printed was because they had represented the Emperor in an unfavourable light; but a very brief inspection of the work itself will suffice to dispel this illusion. Gómara goes out of his way, at every turn, to extol Charles and to emphasize his superiority to his contemporaries, as well as to insist on the pre-eminence of Spain and the Spaniards above all other countries and people. Unless further evidence to the contrary should come to light, we may be reasonably certain that Gómara composed these *Annals*—possibly at different times and intending them as a set of notes for the compilation of a larger and more ambitious work—as a means of regaining the good graces of his sovereign and of enjoying, as he himself phrased it, 'the fruits of his labours in company with many good men.'

IV

THE SOURCES OF THE ANNALS, AND THE AUTHORS BY WHOM THEY WERE USED

One of the most interesting and valuable features of the work that lies before us is the frequent mention which Gómara makes of contemporary Spanish, French, and Italian writers, and the comments which he occasionally ventures to add as to the value and importance of their writings. He refers by name to twenty-two Spanish, three French, and four Italian historians, some of them writers whose works have not come down to us; and he also speaks, somewhat more indefinitely, of several others whom it is usually not

difficult to identify. From some few of these authors he has obviously taken considerable material; of the majority of them he was, relatively speaking, independent; but it is obvious at every turn that he was in close touch with the literary and historical world of his day and generation, and his comments on the prominent figures in it are worthy of careful consideration.

Let us turn in the first place to the Spanish historians of the time, and select from among them those whom it seems most probable that Gómara utilized in preparing the *Annals*. At the outset it is important to emphasize the fact that our author was no plagiarist; he preferred, whenever possible, to trust to his own observation and knowledge of events; and when he was forced to rely on the reports of others, he almost always took pains to avoid copying their phraseology, in a way which contrasts most agreeably with the treatment to which he was subjected by those who utilized him. In searching for the historians from whom Gómara took material, we naturally look to those whose writings cover the whole or part of the first quarter of the century, when our author was not old enough to observe and record things for himself. Of these, the one who served him best was doubtless Andrés Bernáldez, whom he mentions among the chroniclers of Ferdinand the Catholic.¹ There can be little doubt that Gómara's accounts of the birth of the miraculous monster in Ravenna in 1512 and of the battle between the Portuguese Alcaide of Tangiers and the King of Fez in the same year are taken directly from him; in the latter case the fact that both authors are in exact agreement as to the number of those engaged and of those captured is highly significant.² The story of the girdle of iron on the body of King James of Scotland at the battle of Flodden Field is also strikingly close to that contained in the last chapter of Bernáldez's work;³ and a careful inspection of the other paragraphs in the first thirteen years of the *Annals* which have been annotated below with

¹ *Annals*, p. 44. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33; Bernáldez, caps. ccxxviii, ccxxxiii.

³ *Annals*, p. 37; Bernáldez, cap. ccxlv.

references to Bernáldez will reveal other instances of a similar sort. Next after Bernáldez comes Pedro Mejía. The general arrangement of the material in Gómara's account of the revolt of the Castilian Comuneros in 1520-21 is very similar to that in the comparatively exhaustive story of the same event which forms the only published part of Mejía's *Historia de Carlos Quinto*;¹ moreover, Gómara specifically cites that author as responsible for the statement (which he takes pains to modify) that Solyman had 600,000 soldiers with him on his expedition against Austria in 1532.² Gómara was also familiar with Mejía's *Historia de los Césares desde Julio y Augusto hasta Maximiliano I de Austria*, as is shown by his reference to it under the year 1519.³ From Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, also, Gómara doubtless derived something. He mentions him as one of the chroniclers of King Ferdinand,⁴ and the arrangement style, title, and general features of the works of the two authors closely resemble one another. It seems probable that Carvajal was one of the authorities on whom Gómara relied for minor events of local interest in Spain itself during the last years of the Catholic King: the accounts which both writers give of the renunciation of the archbishopric of Santiago by Alfonso de Fonseca in favour of his son in 1507, and of the capture of the Royal Alcalde by the Marquis of Priego in 1508, are very close to one another: and other cases of a similar sort may be found in the succeeding years.⁵ It is worth noticing that none of these works except Mejía's *Historia de los Césares* (which was published in Seville in 1544) was in print during Gómara's lifetime. He must have had access to manuscript copies of Bernáldez and of Carvajal, whose deaths occurred long before he began his historical career; he may well have been personally acquainted with Mejía, who began his *Historia de Carlos Quinto* in 1549.⁶

The question also arises as to whether or not Gómara

¹ *Annals*, pp. 58-9; *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xxi. 367-407.

² *Annals*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ *Annals*, pp. 21 and 24; *Documentos Inéditos*, xviii. 319, 321.

⁶ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. xxi, p. xv.

utilized the works of any of the other Spanish historians of this period, without mentioning their names. In seeking to answer it, we naturally look, as before, to the works dealing with the earlier part of the period which the *Annals* cover; and by a process of exclusion arrive, very early, at the four chronicles of the Great Captain which were produced in the first half of the sixteenth century,¹ and with which we may be reasonably certain that Gómara was familiar.² The first of these chronicles (written by Hernán Pérez del Pulgar and printed in 1527) treats of little else than the story of the siege of Granada, and consequently lies outside our author's field. Another (written by the Italian Jovius, but translated into Spanish and published at Saragossa in 1554) differs so widely from the *Annals* that there is no reason to think that Gómara made use of it. With the other two, however, there is a different tale to tell. Both of them are of unknown authorship; one of them, commonly called the *Crónica Manuscrita*, remained unprinted till very recent times; the other, usually known as the *Crónica General del Gran Capitán*, was first published in Saragossa in 1554 together with a brief autobiography of the famous soldier, Diego García de Paredes.³ There is strong reason to think that our author made use of both these works. A comparison of his account of the famous combat of the eleven Spaniards and the eleven Frenchmen, and of the subsequent encounter between the thirteen Frenchmen and the thirteen Italians, with the more detailed story of the same events contained in the *Crónica Manuscrita*, speaks for itself; as does the close resemblance between Gómara's characterization of Paredes, and that hero's autobiography.⁴ Doubt as to the authorship of these chronicles may well have been the reason why Gómara, in contrast to his usual frankness, failed definitely to acknowledge that he had derived material from

¹ Edited in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. x.

² *Annals*, p. 48.

³ On all this cf. *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. x, Introduction and text.

⁴ *Annals*, pp. 11 and 94-7; *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, x. 333-8; 344-7; 255-9.

them, if such was the fact. Possibly he may have known who the authors were, but thought they desired to remain anonymous.

Turning now to the other Spanish writers to whom our author refers, but of whom he appears to have remained, relatively speaking, independent, it is clear that Gerónimo Zurita holds the first place in his estimation.¹ But the question at once arises as to the extent to which it was possible for Gómara to have been familiar with the work of the great Aragonese chronicler. Zurita did not begin his historical career till 1548, when he started on a long journey in Spain, Italy, and Sicily to collect his material: the first two volumes of his work, which cover the period previous to the death of King Martin of Aragon in 1410, were not published till 1562; while the last two, which deal with the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, and are cited by our author as a separate work, did not appear till 1580:² judging from what Gómara says of him, however, under the year 1547, Zurita was working at the earlier and later portions of his book at the same time.³ It is, of course, just possible that our author's eulogies of his Aragonese contemporary were based on mere hearsay; but, in view of the fact that Zurita is known to have been entrusted by Philip II with the task of arranging the archives at Simancas in 1557,⁴ and may very likely have been there at a time when Gómara was at Valladolid, only eight miles away, it seems more probable that the latter had some personal knowledge of him, saw his notes and thus learned the character and scope of his work. Whatever the case it is clear that our author had not mistaken his man. Zurita was doubtless the foremost historian of his day and generation in Spain.

The rest of the list of Spanish writers mentioned in the *Annals* may be dismissed with briefer notice. Pulgar's *Crónica* (which our author almost certainly knew only in

¹ *Annals*, pp. 44 and 137.

² Cf. Latassa, *Bibliotecas de Escritores Aragoneses* (Saragossa, 1886), iii. 425-35.

³ *Annals*, p. 137.

⁴ Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*, i. 605.

manuscript, since it was not published till 1567) and Lebrija's *Decades* (printed in 1545) close with the latter part of the fifteenth century, and therefore can have furnished no material for the present work; and Gómara appears to have been independent of the *Opus Epistolarum* of Peter Martyr, though the two writers corroborate each other at certain points.¹ His reference to Juan Cristóval Calvete's *Felicissimo Viaje*, as the authority on Philip's journey to Italy in 1548, sounds almost like the footnote to a twentieth-century historical monograph.² He gives us for the first time the date (1539) at which the title of Chronicler was conferred on Florian de Ocampo;³ but was justly sceptical about the success of that author's attempts to finish a history which began with Noah. Indeed, he may be fairly credited with anticipating Ticknor's comments on that work, for Ocampo died without having brought his *Annals of Spain* further down than the days of the Scipios.⁴ Gómara also speaks of another project of writing a *General History of Spain*, which was entertained at the time by Doctor Juan Páez de Castro, who took the title of Chronicler in 1555, but again is careful not to commit himself as to the probabilities of its fulfilment;⁵ as a matter of fact the work in question was never finished, Páez de Castro being chiefly known to-day because of his famous criticism or 'parecer'

¹ *Annals*, pp. 9, 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴ Cf. Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i, p. 554. The best modern accounts of Ocampo are to be found in G. Cirot, *Les Histoires Générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II*, pp. 97-147; and in Fernández Duro, *Colección Bibliografico-Biográfica de . . . Zamora*, pp. 379-80. There has been considerable discussion in regard to the date of his death, which Cirot places in 1555, Duro in 1590, and other writers at different points in the intervening years. Cirot makes out a strong case in favour of the earliest of these dates, and the fact that Páez de Castro was appointed Chronicler in 1555 materially strengthens it: there is still however, it seems to me, just a shade of doubt; and it is quite clear that Ocampo's death, if it occurred in 1555, was not generally known at once. I have mentioned the matter because it has an important bearing on what has been said above (p. xxiv) in regard to the probable time of the composition of the *Annals*. If Ocampo died in 1555, and Gómara knew it, the entry concerning him under the year 1539 (*Annals*, p. 107) was clearly written at least two years earlier than the paragraph about King Sebastian of Portugal under the year 1554 (p. 151).

⁵ *Annals*, p. 156.

on Zurita's *Annals*, which is appended to the sixth volume of the edition of 1610. The work of Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Mondoñedo, and Pedro de Rhua's strictures upon it are briefly touched on by Gómara, in connexion with the former's death.¹ Other minor historians of whom he speaks, and whose writings have been preserved to us, are Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, Alonzo de Palencia, Tristán de Silva, Pedro de Gracia Dei of Galicia, and Hernando de Ribera.² The works of the three remaining Spanish writers whom he mentions—Bernardino Gentile de Sicilia,³ Jacobo de Valgrana,⁴ and Bellido Busto⁵—are apparently no longer extant. Such information as I have been able to glean concerning these men may be found in the footnotes to the pages of the translation where their names occur.

Before passing to the French and Italian historians with whom our author was conversant, a word remains to be added concerning his comments on those of his countrymen who had written and were writing on American affairs. Considering the fate that had befallen the *Historia General de las Indias* at the hands of the government, and the harsh personal criticism to which (if we may judge from a story contained in Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios Reales* ⁶) he had been probably subjected on account of it by those who knew the facts, Gómara's comments on the American works of his compatriots are surprisingly few and singularly free from rancour. There are, in fact, only two of his statements in this connexion that call for special notice. The first is the brief mention of the beginning of the famous Las Casas-Sepúlveda quarrel in 1546, so phrased that it is perfectly impossible to tell on which side Gómara's sympathies were enlisted.⁷ The second is a piece of literary

¹ *Annals*, p. 122. Rhua attacked Guevara's *Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44 and n. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 44 and n. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁶ Cf. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales del Perú*, Par. II, Lib. V, cap. xl.

⁷ *Annals*, p. 126. We may be reasonably certain that Gómara was personally acquainted with Sepúlveda, and probably with Las Casas also; Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 268.

gossip, which, as far as I have been able to discover, is absolutely new, namely that it was at the instance of Las Casas that the Royal Council refused to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in 1548 the necessary licence to publish the second part of his great *Historia de las Indias*, which did not see the light till 1851.¹ The cumulative result of all these items may be accepted as certain evidence that Gómara was intimate with the chief Spanish historians of his day and generation, and is a really valuable authority on the literary history of his time.

In view of the fulness and accuracy of Gómara's information in regard to contemporary historians in Spain and also (as we shall later see) in Italy, it is somewhat surprising that his knowledge of the French writers of the time should be so meagre. He only mentions three French historians in the course of his entire book, and none of these is of first-rate importance. The first is Arnoul le Ferron, to whose continuation in Latin of the chronicle of Paul Émile he accords unenthusiastic praise;² the second is Nicolas Gilles, whose work, which terminates in 1483, he erroneously represents as dealing with the reigns of Louis XII and Francis I;³ the third is a certain Jean Bonchel, who apparently wrote a life of Fernando de Alarcón, which commended itself to Gómara,⁴ but which probably was never printed; apparently it could not be found in the seventeenth century;⁵ and I have been unable to discover any trace of the author or of his work to-day. The chronicles of Le Ferron and of Gilles were both published before Gómara's death—the latter four or five different times; and our author's mistake in regard to it is the more surprising for that reason. His apparent ignorance of Seyssel, most of whose works were published during

¹ *Annals*, pp. 139-40. Cf. also: Medina, *Biblioteca*, i. 147-9; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, ii. 343-6. Gómara previously mentions Oviedo among the chroniclers of Ferdinand the Catholic. *Annals*, p. 44.

² *Annals*, p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵ Cf. Preface to Antonio Suarez de Alarcón's *Comentarios de los hechos del Señor Alarcón*, Madrid, 1655: also *Annals*, p. 110, n. 5.

his lifetime, is also hard to explain: but the writings of d'Auton, Fleuranges, Paradin, the du Bellays, and other contemporaries remained in manuscript till after his death, and for that reason would naturally not be known to him.

Of the Italian historians with whom Gómara was familiar, Jovius unquestionably holds the first place. Our author speaks of him specifically on three separate occasions,¹ and was obviously conversant with the *Commentarius Rerum Turcicarum* and the *Historia sui Temporis* which were published in 1541 and in 1550-2 respectively. In fact there is strong reason to believe that the two men were personally acquainted with one another, for Jovius was employed by Clement VII, and constantly in attendance at the Vatican during the period that Gómara was in Rome. The arrangement and form of the Spaniard's work betrays the influence of the Italian from beginning to end, and there are several occasions where the former's indebtedness to the latter is such as closely approaches the limits of plagiarism—far more closely in fact than in any other case in which our author has been detected. Gómara's account of the cruel death of George Dózsa in 1514 is perhaps the most obvious instance of this sort; several clauses in it come about as near to the words of the story as given in the *Historia sui Temporis* as the difference in language will permit.² Gómara's description of Selim's Egyptian campaigns (1514-17) and his picture of that Sultan's death, are also very close to the corresponding passages in the works of Jovius.³ Yet it would be a mistake to represent our author as in any sense a slavish imitator of his Italian contemporary. Whenever possible he controlled and supplemented Jovius with other authorities, and with his own personal knowledge, thereby showing a laudable indepen-

¹ Cf. *Annals*, pp. 8, 86, 121.

² Text, Año de 1514, ll. 23-30. Jovius, *Hist. sui Temp.* (Venice, 1572), vol. i, p. 301.

³ Text, Años de 1514, 1516, 1517, *passim*, and Año de 1520, ll. 37-80. Jovius, *Hist. sui Temp.* i. 476-512; *Commentarius Rerum Turcicarum*, chapter on Selim.

dence, and a desire to utilize all available sources of information, even if a gain in accuracy did not always accompany them. Two instances of this will suffice.

The first is the very remarkable story which Gómara tells of the counsellor and friend of Soldan Tuman of Egypt, whose real name was Algazeli, but whom Jovius calls 'Gazelle', and Gómara 'El Alguazil'.¹ The facts about this man seem to have been that he was an Austrian Slav by birth, and employed from his youth up in the service of Soldans Kansu and Tuman. By his courage, ability, and energy the invading army of Selim was for a brief space kept at bay, but finally he turned traitor, went over to the Turks, and was rewarded by Selim after the capture of Cairo by the governorship of Syria; only to be defeated and killed three years later in an attempt to raise a revolt against Solyman the Magnificent.² Jovius's account of this interesting person is in general accord with these facts,³ but Gómara's is strangely different. He represents Algazeli as a Spaniard born in Seville, and brought as a child by his mother on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he says he was kidnapped by the Soldan and made into a Mameluke. He follows Jovius's account of Algazeli's early resistance to Selim's invading armies, but represents him as having remained the loyal adherent of Tuman to the very end; not only that, but asserts that he spurned Selim's offers of pardon and favour after Tuman's death, escaped from the prison in which Selim confined him, and finally fled to Persia, where he introduced artillery, and advised the Shah to use Spanish soldiers in his armies, and to make an alliance with the Emperor Charles V. What Gómara's sources for this story were I have been wholly unable to ascertain. It does not seem likely that he invented the tale out of whole cloth, for that is contrary to what we know of the man and his methods; on the other hand it would be dangerous to set up his story as accurate, in view of the

¹ *Annals*, pp. 53-5, Text, Año de 1517, ll. 143-220.

² Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 495 ff.; iii. 9 ff.

³ Jovius, *Hist. sui Temp.* i. 478-506 *passim*, 531.

overwhelming evidence on the other side. It seems probable, on the whole, that he was describing the career of some other man, whom some chance resemblance of name or title caused him to confuse with Algazeli. But the whole incident is noteworthy as indicating that Gómara tended, whenever possible, to trust his own observation and knowledge and even hearsay rather than rely on the statements of other historians. Sandoval was certainly right in characterizing him as one who 'noted down all he saw and heard in his day and generation'.¹

The other instance of Gómara's independence of Jovius is even more striking, and far more to the credit of his accuracy and determination to 'go to the sources'. At the close of his long account of the rise of Ismail Sophy in the year 1500, he says 'This is a little different from the way in which Paul Jovius, the diligent historian of Turkish affairs, recounts it, but I found it related in this wise in a book which Hernando Ruy brought from Constantinople, written in manuscript, and taken from the histories of that part of the world'.² After considerable investigation concerning the identity of this other 'book' I have come to the conclusion that it almost certainly was nothing else than the *Breve Narratione della Vita et Fatti del Signor Ussuncassano* by the Italian Giovan Maria Angiolello,³ or if not that, at least some compilation which had been practically copied from it. In the first place, we know from Ramusio's preface to that work that Angiolello was in the employ of the Turks,⁴ a fact which fits in well with Gómara's statement that the book which was the source of his information was brought from Constantinople. In the second, there are several passages in Gómara's story, which are almost identical with the corresponding ones in Angiolello. Such, for instance, are the description of Ismail's birth, the story of his capture of Piroso or Pucosco, and the account of his

¹ Cf. below, p. li.

² *Annals*, p. 8.

³ Printed in vol. ii of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Venice, 1583), ff. 65-78; and (translated into English) by the Hakluyt Society in 1873, in *Travels of Venetians in Persia*.

⁴ Ramusio, ii. 65.

exhuming and burning the bones of his enemies and of putting his mother to death.¹ Gómara, as has been already stated, was exceedingly careful not to incur the reputation of being a plagiarist; the passages in question are all very short, and separated from one another by phrases of his own; moreover, they are arranged in a different order from that in which they appear in the other book. But, within these limits, the resemblances are so close that, coupled with our author's familiarity with Italians, and the facts that we know about Angiolello, they create a strong presumption in favour of the theory that Gómara knew and utilized this valuable work.

The other Italian writers specifically cited by Gómara are Bembo, Giustiniani, and Guazzo: he merely mentions the years in which their books were completed; and, in addition, accords to Guazzo a rather grudging compliment for the industrious, painstaking quality of his work.² All three were in print during our author's lifetime, but I find no evidence that he utilized them to any considerable extent. Of Guicciardini's great book he seems to have been ignorant, but this is doubtless explained by the fact that no part of it was published till 1561. On the other hand there is strong evidence that he was familiar with Machiavelli, though he does not mention him by name, for in the midst of our author's characterization of Francis I there occurs a most striking passage,³ in which Gómara summarizes the arguments of the great Florentine in defence of breach of plighted faith, as contained in the eighteenth chapter of *The*

¹ Cf. Gómara's words in the text, Año de 1500, ll. 171-2, 151-3, 161-4, with the following passages in Angiolello as printed in Ramusio, vol. ii, ff. 71-2:

'Questo Ismael, quando nacque, venne fuori del corpo della madre co' pugni chiusi & pieni di sangue.'

'Or essendo ragunati li detti cinquecento fanti & cavalli, passarono un fiume grande, che va alla volta di Sumacchia detto Cur, che entra nel mar Caspio.'

'In questo conflitto furon morte venti mila persone: egli fece poi trar fuori molte ossa delle sepolture de' Signori già morti, & fecele abbruciare, fece morir la propria madre.'

² *Annals*, pp. 39, 84, 147.

³ *Annals*, p. 132, and Burd's edition of *Il Principe*, pp. 297-308.

Prince, and then refutes them in characteristic sixteenth-century fashion. Our author was almost certainly in Italy at the time of the publication of that work (1532), and must have realized the accuracy of Machiavelli's description of the political methods of the successful ruler of his day and generation in that country. Nothing, however, would induce him to admit that the Emperor would willingly descend to such practices as the Florentine described; and, moreover, like a large number of subsequent critics, he tended to confuse the ideally justifiable and the actually existent, and to make the mistake of estimating *The Prince* rather as an exposition of the one than as a delineation of the other.

Gómara's intimate knowledge of Italy and of Italian writers is really one of the most interesting and significant features of his book. The age in which he lived saw the literary relations of Spain and Italy at their closest. The Spanish language, which had hitherto been regarded in Italy as the tongue of a barbarian people,¹ was rapidly coming into fashion there, and being taken up on all sides. On the other hand, Italian works and Italian authors flourished in the Spain of Charles V, to the prejudice of the older national ones. Politically, too, we find the destinies of the two nations more closely interwoven than ever before. To the ancient Spanish realms in Sicily and Naples was added Milan in 1535; at the north and the south the peninsula was ruled by Spain, and many of the intermediate states, which maintained theoretical independence, were in large measure dominated by the influence of the foreigner. On the other hand, it was by putting into practice the principles of Italian statecraft that Spain had sprung forward to the leadership of Europe; it was largely by Italian soldiers and Italian statesmen that Spanish military and diplomatic victories had been gained; it was by the efforts of an Italian that Spain had become mistress of the New World. To the

¹ Boccaccio called the Castilians 'semi-barbari et efferati homines'. Valla spoke of the Aragonese as 'a studiis humanitatis abhorrentes'; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 131.

extent of this Italian literary and political influence on Spain, and also to that of the Spanish literary and political influence on Italy, the career and writings of our author bear eloquent tribute. His broad outlook on men and events, his brilliant synthetical power, and his ability to distinguish the important from the unimportant, differentiate him sharply and very honourably from the vast majority of Spanish chroniclers of his time, and are doubtless largely traceable to his Italian experiences. Yet, on the other hand, his ineradicable conviction of the unquestioned superiority of Spain to all other nations in every walk of life, saved him from being a mere imitator and plagiarist, and caused him to proclaim the glory and renown of his native land at every possible opportunity.

From the consideration of the authorities utilized by Gómara in the preparation of his work, we now pass to the not less interesting problem of the authors who in turn made use of him. As the *Annals of Charles V* were never printed before, we cannot be surprised at finding that there are not many of these. Of course the number of manuscript copies which were made also bears on this point; and though it is of course impossible to be definite, we can fairly say that the available evidence tends to show that there were but very few, possibly only the original (which was very likely lost) and the two seventeenth-century copies in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid and in the British Museum in London. In any case we have no evidence that Gómara's work was known to any writer who did not have access, at one time or another, to the different archives at the Spanish capital, so that it is entirely possible, indeed we may fairly say probable, that the various authors who are known to have taken material from the *Annals*, utilized either the original, or else one or the other of the two seventeenth-century copies now extant, both of which were doubtless made at Madrid.

The only writers that I have been able to discover who unquestionably made use of Gómara's *Annals* are Prudencio

de Sandoval (1560?-1621), Bishop of Pamplona, whose well-known *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos Quinto* was first published at Valladolid in 1604-6; Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, whose *Commentarios de los Hechos del Señor Alarcón* was put forth at Madrid in 1655; Jules Chifflet, the Besançon historian (1615-1676), whose *Aula Sacra Principum Belgii* appeared at Antwerp in 1650; and Antonio Ferrer del Rio, the well-known writer and academician of the nineteenth century. Of these Sandoval is not only so much the most important, but also utilized Gómara to so much the greatest extent, that we can well afford to dismiss the other three in a few brief words, in order to concentrate our attention upon him.

The annotations to the brief characterization of Alarcón in the *Annals* under the year 1540¹ will serve to indicate the use made of Gómara by Antonio Suárez de Alarcón in his biography of his illustrious kinsman. In the first place he quotes with literal accuracy six lines of the text, as it appears in the manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional and is transcribed below,² and frankly acknowledges his indebtedness in the words, 'Como lo escriue el Cronista Francisco López de Gómara en estas palabras.' In addition to this Alarcón summarizes and paraphrases other passages from our author's characterization of his hero in language which clearly denotes the source from which they were derived; in fact it is obvious at every turn that he regards Gómara as an authority of importance, though on several occasions he diverges completely from the story which the latter tells, and follows instead such authors as Zurita and Mariana, as, for instance, when he states that it was by the Duke of Ferrara (instead of by Ramón de Cardona as Gómara has it) that the Señor Alarcón was captured at Ravenna, and subsequently liberated.³ It was also from Gómara that Alarcón learned of Jean Bonchel's work, which however he

¹ *Annals*, pp. 108-110 n.

² Text, Año de 1540, ll. 47 to 53, from 'Tuvo tambien' to 'ellos de Roma'.

³ Alarcón, p. 172.

was apparently unable to find.¹ In regard to Chifflet's indebtedness to Gómara even less remains to be said. In the sixth chapter of his *Aula Sacra Principum Belgii*, entitled 'De Protocapellanis et Archicapellanis',² he inserts, with proper acknowledgements, a Latin translation of the story told by Gómara under the year 1549,³ concerning the quarrel between the Canons of Valladolid and Pedro Manuel, Archbishop of Santiago and principal chaplain to the King. Chifflet was in Madrid from 1648 to 1655 and had access to the libraries there. He may well have used the Villaumbrosa copy of Gómara's work, which, as has been already shown, was probably the one that is now at the Biblioteca Nacional. We have already mentioned the fact that Chifflet speaks of the *Annals*, not by that name, but as *Index Historicus Rerum a Carolo Quinto gestarum*. Finally Antonio Ferrer del Rio quotes the story which Gómara tells under the year 1521 of the sheep that slew the soldier, in a footnote to the twelfth chapter of his *Historia del Levantamiento de las Comunidades de Castilla*.⁴ There can be no reasonable doubt that he, also, utilized the copy of the *Annals* which has been transcribed below.

We now turn to the much more important and significant topic of the indebtedness to Gómara of Prudencio de Sandoval, who very likely had access to the original manuscript of the *Annals*; in any event we may be certain that he did not use either of the copies now extant, for his *Historia de Carlos Quinto* was written many years before they were made. In the first place it is interesting to notice that François la Mothe le Vayer, whose *Discours de l'Histoire*⁵ contains an exhaustive criticism of Sandoval's historical work and accuses him right and left of partiality and ignorance, does not mention plagiarism as one of his faults. This is probably accounted for by the fact that literary theft was not regarded in those days in at all the same light

¹ *Annals*, p. 110, n. 5.

² Chifflet, *Aula Sacra*, pp. 40-1.

³ *Annals*, p. 143.

⁴ *Annals*, p. 63; Ferrer del Rio, *Historia del Levantamiento*, &c., pp. 321-2 n.

⁵ La Mothe le Vayer, *Œuvres*, i. 231-78.

as at present; but the fact remains that Sandoval's work is really rather a compilation from various authors, plentifully interlarded with priceless contemporary documents, than a history in the proper sense of the word. Several cases of his plagiarism have been detected by other writers; his thefts from Alonzo de Sanabria's work on the campaign of Tunis may be cited as an example;¹ and I have already called attention to his indebtedness to Gómara's *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*.² From the *Annals*, however, Sandoval has taken far more than from either of these works—upwards of twenty-five passages in all. A few words about the most important of these passages, and the probable circumstances under which Sandoval stole them, may not be superfluous.

It is worth mentioning at the outset that Sandoval was at special pains to conceal the identity of the man from whom he took so much. In only one of the many cases where he copies from the *Annals* does he give any indication that the words he uses are not his own; and in that one case he expressly avoids mentioning Gómara by name. The passage in question is that in which our author tells of the man who was able to go for fifteen or twenty days without food, and of Pope Clement's remark concerning him:³ it is quoted *verbatim et literatim* by Sandoval, who then adds the following words: 'Escribió estas memorias un Español curioso que notó todo lo que vió y oyó en sus días.'⁴ Certainly no better description of Gómara could have been given than this, but the question at once arises why Sandoval inserted it, instead of frankly mentioning the name of the author, as he did in one of the cases in which he copied from Sanabria. There can be no reasonable doubt that he knew it: even if the copy of the *Annals* which he used (we have seen that it was very likely the original) lacked Gómara's name at the beginning, the last paragraph of the year 1511

¹ Cf. E. Cat. *Mission Bibliographique en Espagne*, p. 61, and *De Rebus a Carolo Quinto in Africa gestis*, p. 92.

² Cf. *ante*, pp. xiv, xv.

³ *Annals*, pp. 90-1; Text, Año de 1531, ll. 16-27.

⁴ Sandoval, *Carlos Quinto* (edition of 1681), vol. ii, p. 104.

must necessarily have revealed its author's identity. It is possible that Sandoval concealed Gómara's name simply in order to prevent the detection of his other numerous and totally unacknowledged thefts from him ; but adherents of this view must explain why he did not also avoid mentioning the names of other authors from whom he copied, as for example, that of Sanabria. My own feeling is that the real reason that Sandoval took such pains to avoid revealing Gómara's identity was that the latter was chiefly known as the writer of a book which had been formally condemned by the government, and was therefore an authority with whom, even in Sandoval's time, it would be extremely dangerous for a Royal Chronicler to have anything to do.

In any case there can be no question that Sandoval had a copy of the *Annals* beside him when he wrote. The first clear case of his plagiarism from Gómara is the story of the combat between the eleven Frenchmen and the eleven Spaniards at Trani in the year 1502 ;¹ the last which I have been able to discover is the account of Prince Philip's setting up his Court at Valladolid in the Burgundian fashion in the year 1548 ;² and nearly half the intervening years contain one or more cases of a similar sort (in the year 1506 there are four). The scale of Sandoval's work is so much larger than that of Gómara's, that the former was not always content with the brief entries that the latter made, after he had got to the heart of his subject, namely, the story of the Emperor's career after the time when the death of Ferdinand the Catholic had made him independent ruler of the Spanish realms. It is for the early years of Charles's life, during which he briefly summarizes the events of the last years of Ferdinand and Isabella, that Sandoval makes the most frequent use of Gómara ; in the later stages copies our author's version of minor events of local interest and above all his characterizations, as, for example, those of Antonio

¹ Text, Año de 1502, ll. 21-40 ; Sandoval, vol. i, p. 5.

² Text, Año de 1548, ll. 32-48 ; Sandoval, vol. ii, p. 487.

de Leyva, Henry VIII, or Francis I;¹ on one occasion he steals Gómara's brief note on the Diet of Worms, and incorporates it as a marginal summary on the edge of the page, and then, strangely enough, gives a detailed account of the same event in the main text, which omits one of the events noted in the marginal summary.²

As an example of Sandoval's plagiarism from Gómara it will suffice to print in parallel columns the paragraphs in which both authors describe the character and deeds of Pope Adrian VI.³ This will serve as a very fair example; the two texts are neither more nor less close to one another than they are in the large majority of similar cases, which are cited in the accompanying footnote.⁴

¹ Text, Año de 1536, ll. 21-60; Sandoval, vol. ii, p. 232. Text, Año de 1547, ll. 49-92; Sandoval, vol. ii, pp. 470-1. Text, Año de 1547, ll. 93-170; Sandoval, vol. ii, p. 440.

² Text, Año de 1521, ll. 27-9; Sandoval, vol. i, p. 379.

³ Text, Año de 1523, ll. 26-43; Sandoval, vol. i, p. 436.

⁴ Other obvious cases of Sandoval's plagiarism from Gómara may be found by comparing the following passages: Text, Año de 1503, ll. 15-27, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 8; Text, Año de 1504, ll. 21-60; Sandoval, vol. i, p. 9; Text, Año de 1506, ll. 1-9, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 10; Text, Año de 1506, ll. 10-17, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 10; Text, Año de 1506, ll. 27-44, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 11; Text, Año de 1506, ll. 54-65, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 12; Text, Año de 1511, ll. 42-6, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 22; Text, Año de 1512, ll. 1-4, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 26; Text, Año de 1518, ll. 3-9, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 101; Text, Año de 1519, ll. 39-47, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 102; Text, Año de 1522, ll. 5-12, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 360; Text, Año de 1526, ll. 79-107, and Sandoval, vol. i, pp. 565-6; Text, Año de 1526, ll. 146-51, and Sandoval, vol. i, p. 607; Text, Año de 1529, ll. 28-97, and Sandoval, vol. ii, pp. 77-8; Text, Año de 1532, ll. 29-35, and Sandoval, vol. ii, p. 117; Text, Año de 1543, ll. 60-109, and Sandoval, vol. ii, pp. 343-4; Text, Año de 1548, ll. 21-7, and Sandoval, vol. ii, pp. 489-90. In some of these cases Sandoval has inserted passages of his own between the sentences he has copied from Gómara; more often he follows his model very closely. I have looked carefully but unsuccessfully for evidence that Gómara and Sandoval were both copying from a common source. On several occasions Sandoval takes from Gómara passages that Gómara has taken from Bernáldez or other authors—as, for example, the story of the miraculous monster born in Ravenna in 1512 (Text, Año de 1512, ll. 1-4; Bernáldez, cap. ccxxviii; Sandoval, vol. i, p. 26); but in all such cases Sandoval is so much closer to Gómara than he is to the original, or than Gómara (who paraphrases rather than plagiarizes) is to the original, that there can be little question as to the immediate source of Sandoval's information.

GÓMARA

‘Muere el Papa Adriano sexto, que no mudó nombre. Era olandes y dean de Louayna q^{do} el Emp^{or} Maximiliano lo hiço maestro de Carlos su nieto, por hombre docto y bueno. Vino á España por embaxador al Rey Catholico sobre la gouernacion de Castilla, y á tomar posesion del reyno por don Carlos. Fué gouernador de Castilla y obispo de Tortosa. Mormuran de el porque no se desemboluió como sus antecessores, y aun porque afeó a los cardenales sus vicios y pages, y por que no socorrió á Rodas. No quiso absolver á los que saquearon á Genoua ni pasar el arçobispado de Toledo en Don Jorge de Austria, hijo bastardo del Emperador Maximiliano, acordándose que las comonidades se quexaron que lo fuese Guillen de Croy. Dió al Emp^{or} Carlos la gouernacion y administracion perpetua de los maestrazgos de Castl^a, como á Rey de España, y quitó el tributo de Napoles para siempre, y hiço en su fauor otras cosas.’

SANDOVAL

‘Este año á 18. de Setiembre murió Adriano Papa VI. deste nombre. Ya he dicho como era Olandes, y que fué Dean de Lobayna, quando el Imperador Maximiliano le hizo maestro de Carlos su nieto, por ser hombre doto y bueno. Vino á España por Embaxador al Rey Catholico, sobre la gouernacion de Castilla, y á tomar la possession del Reyno por Don Carlos. Fué Governador de Castilla, y Obispo de Tortosa. Murmuraron del, porque no se desembolvió, como sus antecessores, y aun porque afeó á los Cardenales sus vicios y pages, y porque no socorrió á Rodas. No quiso absolver á los que saquearon á Genova, ni passar el Arçobispado de Toledo á Don Jorge de Austria, hijo bastardo del Emperador Maximiliano, acordándose que las Comonidades se quexaron que lo fuese Guillen de Croy. Dió al Emperador Carlos, como á Rey de España, la administracion perpetua de los Maestrazgos de Castilla, y quitole el tributo de Napoles para siempre, y hizo en su favor otras cosas.’

V

THE MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE ANNALS

It is now time for us to turn from our examination of the authorities which Gómara used in preparing his *Annals*, and of those who in turn made use of him, to a scrutiny of the *Annals* themselves, their merits and defects, the extent to which they may be trusted, and the sort of information which they may reasonably be expected to afford.

The chief defects of Gómara's *Annals* are, first, a strongly partisan standpoint, and, secondly, considerable inaccuracy and carelessness in detail. Of the first there is ample and often very amusing evidence on almost every page. Usually it takes the form of comparisons between Spanish and foreign sovereigns or between Spanish and foreign soldiers, in which the infinite superiority of the former is upheld with such vigour and frankness that the unwariest of readers would never be deluded into thinking that he was perusing the work of a non-partisan; and the evils incident to a biased attitude are thus in large measure obviated. Such are the parallels between Charles V and Francis I, which are inserted in the characterization of the latter;¹ such is the incidental emphasis laid on the superior power and valour of the Spanish veterans in the account of the battle of Ravenna or in the story of the movements of the armies about Landrecies;² such are the last words of the description of the combat between the thirteen Frenchmen and the thirteen Italians in 1502.³ Gómara is of course equally frank in his hostility to heresy; from the very first pages of his book in which he dilates on the happy state of Germany before the advent of Martin Luther,⁴ to the extremely racy characterization of the Saxon reformer in 1546,⁵ he leaves no room for doubt on that point. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe how closely Gómara's account of Luther's early life, conversion, marriage, and subsequent career

¹ *Annals*, pp. 131-2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32 and 115-17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-6.

tallies with that given in the typical Catholic histories of the Protestant Reformation which appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; there is really very little difference, for example, between his story and that of the French Jesuit Louis Maimbourg, who wrote in 1681.¹ Such partisanship as this, however, is common to the vast majority of sixteenth-century writers, and carries its own refutation with it; indeed, no reasonable being would expect to find anything else in a book produced at the time and under the circumstances of Gómar's. More serious by far is our author's occasional habit of sliding rapidly over, if not entirely omitting, events which tell against the persons whom he desires to extol. The first three paragraphs of the year 1552, for instance, would not give the casual reader the least notion of the completeness of the overthrow of the Imperial power in Germany that was accomplished by Maurice of Saxony;² and the account of the murder of Pier Luigi Farnese in 1547 fails to give the slightest hint that Charles authorized the insurrection which brought about that tragic result.³ Occasionally, too, a fact is misstated or overstated apparently for a deliberate purpose. The last paragraph of the year 1520 would indicate that a Spaniard rather than a Portuguese led the first expedition which put a girdle around the globe,⁴ while the bald entry which avers that Bourbon undertook to sack Rome and capture the Pope on his own responsibility ('de su caueça')⁵ is obviously intended to convey the rather erroneous impression that Charles was guiltless of all blame and even of blameworthy intentions in connexion with that outrage. The Emperor might well have exclaimed, in regard to Gómar's book, as he did on reading the commentaries of Ávila y Zúñiga, 'Alexander's achievements surpassed mine, but he was less fortunate in his chronicler.'⁶

Various instances of inaccuracy of statement, quite apart from the question of bias and partisanship, may also be

¹ *Histoire du Luthéranisme*, Livres I et II.

² *Annals*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 156.

found throughout Gómara's work. In two places, and in two places only, does he seem to have gone completely off the track; and both of them are concerned with events of which our author can have had no personal knowledge. The first, already mentioned in another connexion, is the strangely improbable story of Algazeli (or 'el Alguazil Español', as Gómara calls him) in the year 1517,¹ which is in flat contradiction of all the other accounts of that personage which have come down to us; the second is the hopelessly incorrect statement concerning the sons of Solyman the Magnificent, contained in the next to the last paragraph of the year 1548.² No other deviations from established fact, comparable to these, disfigure the book. Of course, impossible stories occasionally crop out concerning the birth of miraculous monsters³ or the appearance of bearded Tritons in the sea;⁴ these, however, are but an evidence of the credulity of the time, and do not seriously affect the historical validity of the work as a whole. The same may also be said concerning the somewhat imaginary beginnings of the genealogies given in the year 1517;⁵ and in comparison with those given in Sandoval's great work, which was written half a century later, they deserve to be regarded as scientific. Quite apart, however, from these serious mistakes, and occasional evidences of sixteenth-century superstition, the *Annals* are disfigured by a number of minor errors of fact and arrangement, which can be detected on almost every page. A few words remain to be said in regard to the nature, significance, and possible origin of these.

A number of them are unquestionably to be attributed to mere carelessness. It is, for example, certainly carelessness, and not ignorance, that is responsible for the statement that Henry VIII was King of England in 1500, especially as the death of his father is correctly placed in 1509.⁶ Such errors as the substitution of twenty-five for fifteen years as the age

¹ *Annals*, pp. 53-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3 and 26.

of Arthur Prince of Wales at the time of his death,¹ or the placing of the death of Servetus at Basel instead of Geneva,² are also to be attributed to a similar cause. Carelessness too, rather than ignorance, is the most likely explanation of the numerous cases in which events have been recorded under years where they do not belong: typical instances of this are the battle of Sievershausen, which was fought on July 9, 1553, but is placed in the *Annals* in 1555;³ and the death of Catharine of Aragon, which took place in 1536, but is set down under the year 1535.⁴ The worst case of this sort, however, occurs in the years 1520-3. Nearly all the events recorded in the last nine paragraphs of the year 1520⁵ really took place in the years 1521, 1522, or 1523. The concentration of the worst of these errors of dating at one point tempts one to try to place the blame for them on the scribe who made the copy which has been transcribed below, rather than on Gómara. The leaves of the original manuscript might well have been misplaced or turned over by accident at the time that the copy was being made, and the scribe thus caused to place a number of items in the wrong year without realizing it. The trouble with this theory is that the British Museum copy errs in precisely the same way as does the Madrid one, so that we are driven to conclude that the fault lay with the original, unless, perchance, the two copies at present extant be merely copies of an earlier copy, and not copies of Gómara's own work: if we proceed on this hypothesis it is still possible to acquit our author of some share of the blame. His defence against the charge of occasional inaccuracy in dating events is, however, at best only very weak; and, moreover, the last sentence of the first paragraph of the *Annals*, in which he proclaims his intention of avoiding the responsibilities incident on undertaking to state the exact days and months at which events occurred, looks very much as if he realized that chronology was not his strong point.

¹ *Annals*, p. 10.² *Ibid.*, p. 125.³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

1 MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE ANNALS

One other form of inaccuracy which disfigures the *Annals* remains to be noticed, and here, also, it seems impossible to avoid placing the bulk of the blame upon the author. We occasionally find events which bear a more or less intimate relation to one another placed in the text in the inverse order to that in which they actually occurred, so that the real connexion between them does not appear. The marriage of Ferdinand the Catholic and Germaine de Foix, arranged in 1505 and celebrated in March, 1506, was principally intended to strengthen Ferdinand against his son-in-law Philip: it took place more than a month before Philip and Joanna arrived in Spain. By placing it, as the *Annals* do, not only after the arrival of Philip and Joanna, but also after the death of the former (Sept. 25, 1506), the significance of the event is in large measure lost.¹ Similarly, in the year 1532, it is most misleading to find the account of Solyman's retreat from Austria inserted *before* the account of the heroic defence of Güns, whose magnificent resistance was one of the principal causes that induced the Sultan to retire.² Of course, no reasonable person would go to a sixteenth-century historian for an extended discussion of the underlying causes and connexion of contemporary events; but an accurate statement of their sequence can fairly be expected, and Gómara's frank avowal that he did not propose 'to put down anything more than the year in which events occurred' can scarcely acquit him of culpable negligence in this respect. It is but fair to add, however, that lapses of this sort are of infrequent occurrence.

Many of the special merits of the *Annals* have been already incidentally discussed in the foregoing pages, and it does not seem worth while to repeat them here; the acquaintance with contemporary writers, and the knowledge of Italy and Italians which they display, may be mentioned by way of a reminder.³ At the beginning of any general

¹ *Annals*, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92.

³ Cf. *ante*, pp. xxvi-xxxix.

discussion of the good points of the present work one is tempted to quote once more Sandoval's admirable characterization of our author—'Escribió estas memorias un Español curioso que notó todo lo que vió y oyó en sus dias'. Gómara was himself present, saw with his own eyes, indeed played a minor part in many of the events which this book records. He was, in other words, essentially a man of the world, a man of action. This merit, however, was by no means exceptional among the historians of the sixteenth century; on the contrary, a large majority of them had some personal experience of the events they described. The remarkable thing about Gómara is that he coupled his practical experience of men and affairs with a most unusual literary training, and a wide and intimate knowledge of books and authors. 'Er verleugnet nirgends seine höhere Bildung,' as a modern German critic, judging solely from the *Historia General de las Indias* and the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, has rightly said;¹ and it will be readily admitted that the numerous pithy comments in the *Annals* concerning contemporary historians and their work serve materially to strengthen this verdict. In this double equipment, of practical experience and literary training, lies one of Gómara's chief claims to our attention: it was possessed in equal measure by very few of his contemporaries, and it is evident to a far greater degree in the *Annals* than in any of his other works. One feels at every turn that one is dealing with an educated man in the best sense of the word, in whom both the practical and scholarly sides had been given free play, but neither suffered to develop at the expense of the other.

Some of the more striking evidences of the breadth of interest and keenness of intelligence developed by Gómara's unusual training deserve special attention. Prominent among them are the numerous passages devoted to economic topics, on which our author's shrewd comments are the more remarkable in that the typical Spaniard—especially the typical Spanish cleric—of that epoch is usually repre-

¹ Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, p. 299.

sented as having been absolutely blind to developments of that nature. Such passages as that which records Sultan Selim's expression of amazement that the Jews should have been driven out of Castile, since such action was equivalent to driving out wealth,¹ or the paragraph which describes the efforts and failure of the officials of the Royal Council of Castile to discover how and by whom gold was being taken out of the realm,² reveal an inquisitiveness and intelligence in regard to the causes of material prosperity which one would not naturally look for in a man of Gómar's antecedents. Significant in the same connexion are his notice of Francis I's edict of 1532 (which he erroneously places in 1531³) providing that grain be sold only in the regular markets, in order to prevent excessive prices from being charged for it, his mention of the prohibition of the circulation of the small copper coinage of Béarn in France and in Castile in 1538,⁴ and his account of the way in which King Henry of France increased the value of money in his kingdom, in order that it should not be taken out of the realm but rather come in to him from foreign lands.⁵ Most important of all, however, are Gómar's discussion of the general rise of prices which occurred towards the middle of the century, and his shrewd guess at its probable cause. Under the year 1548 he gives a list of commodities and the prices which they brought at that time, which he describes as higher than any that Castile had ever known before;⁶ and at the beginning of his book he offers a possible explanation of the phenomenon. Speaking of the condition of Spain in 1500 he contrasts it with that which pertained a half-century later, and closes with the statement that 'there is a great difference between that time and this in many things, as for example in dress, in expense, and in the price of commodities, caused, in my judgment, by the great quantity of silver and gold which has come to us from the Indies'.⁷ This expression of opinion is highly significant; for it disposes of the generally accepted notion that Jean Bodin was the

¹ *Annals*, p. 56.² *Ibid.*, p. 143.³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-9.⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

first man to enunciate the theory that the influx of American gold and silver was the primary cause of the rise of prices in the sixteenth century.¹ Bodin's views on this topic are to be found in his treatise, *Réponse aux paradoxes de M. Males-troit touchant le fait des monnaies et l'enchérissement de toutes choses*, published in 1568, and in his later work, *De Republica* (Book VI, chapter ii), published in 1576; Gómara's *Annals* antedate the first of these two works by at least a decade. It is highly improbable that the Frenchman was acquainted with our author's work, and much more likely that he arrived at his own conclusions independently; but the fact that a Spanish priest saw the true state of affairs and stated it at least as early as 1558 is interesting evidence either that the economic incompetence of the sixteenth-century Spaniard has been grossly exaggerated, or else that Gómara stood head and shoulders above the mass of his contemporaries in his knowledge and interest in this particular field. Both these alternatives may well have some measure of truth in them.

Other evidences of the peculiar qualifications as a historian which Gómara's wide and varied training gave him are afforded by the brilliancy of his descriptions, his extraordinary ability to summarize a difficult and complicated story in a few well-chosen sentences, his keenness in grasping the essential things, and the cosmopolitanism and universality of his interests. His characterization of Martin Luther² has already been mentioned in another connexion; however biased it may be, there can be no question of its vividness and realism. That of Henry VIII³ is in some respects even more brilliant. It would be impossible to construct in equal space a better summary of the causes of the Revolt of the Castilian Comuneros than that given under the year 1520;⁴ not a word is wasted, and no essential element is left out. Moreover, Gómara's selection of the events to be described in his book will be found, on

¹ Cf. G. Wiebe, *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 187-8.

² *Annals*, p. 125.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

the whole, to justify itself according to sixteenth, if not according to twentieth-century standards. Too much emphasis is doubtless laid on military events and on the deeds of Spanish heroes; too little on the internal development of foreign nations, notably of England and of the Empire; the underlying causes of great movements and great events are often not explained, and sometimes not even hinted at. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the art of writing history was at that time only just beginning to revive; and in spite of all their faults, the *Annals* present a general picture of a most critical and complicated period of the world's history, to which it would be exceedingly difficult to find a parallel, either contemporary or modern, of equal range and similar bulk. Their cosmopolitanism is perhaps their most remarkable feature; it speaks for itself and needs no additional emphasis here. It shows, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, how great and far-reaching was the change which had come over Spain under the reigns of the Emperor and of the Catholic Kings; how, from a state of comparative isolation from the affairs of the outside world, she suddenly sprang forward to the leadership of Christendom, and began to carry her conquests, her civilization, and her religion to the uttermost confines of the earth.

Perhaps, after all, the greatest value of these *Annals* for us to-day lies not so much in the facts they contain as in the light they incidentally cast on the outlook, ideals, and aspirations of the intelligent Spaniard of the middle of the sixteenth century. The most difficult and important problem of Spanish history is that presented by the nation's sudden disintegration, coming so swiftly on the heels of her greatest period of glory. What were the real causes of the change, and when precisely did the scale begin to turn? Despotism of a peculiarly harmful sort, economic mistakes, religious intolerance, the burdens of an overloaded programme and of distant foreign possessions, have all been made to bear their share of responsibility for the catastrophe, and the majority of modern writers agree they were all in

operation, to an extent at least, as early as the period in which Gómara wrote. But the *Annals* are surely the work of a man who devoutly believes in the destiny of his people. Of the various clouds on her political horizon only one, the economic, is faintly visible to him: in other respects his standpoint is frankly optimistic. The foreign dynasty which rules the Spanish realms commands his loyalty and respect. Make all possible allowance for his desire to flatter the Emperor, and there can really be no doubt on this point. Loss of national independence has been more than atoned for in his eyes by vast increase of power and prestige; the attitude of the days of the Comuneros is forgotten—the old ideals of national exclusiveness, internal autonomy and separatism, have given way to new ambitions to become a great world power. That a man of Gómara's frankness and intelligence should not have seen the other side of the picture is a fact deserving of careful consideration. It is, to be sure, only negative evidence, but negative evidence is not always to be despised. It bears eloquent testimony to the suddenness and completeness of one of the most dramatic transformations of modern times, and to the way in which contemporaries were dazzled thereby. It goes far towards explaining why those who guided the destinies of Spain under Philip II were unable to foresee the future, and to discern and arrest those features of her new development which presaged her speedy and tragic decline.

ANNALS OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH

BY

FRANCISCO LÓPEZ de GÓMARA

The Year 1500

Charles, the son of the Archduke Philip of Austria and of the Princess Joanna of Castile, was born in Ghent on Leap Year Day, the 25th of February, which was the feast of St. Matthias¹; and I propose to relate in this work, year by year, the sum and substance of the events which occurred in his time in different parts of the world, especially in Spain, from his birth till his abdication of all his realms and seigniories in favour of his son Philip, our master. And I shall reckon the years only according to the era of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, for it is better and also more exact to count them in this wise. Moreover, I am not going to put down anything more than the year, save in a few cases, for that suffices for a summary, and moreover, there are many differences of opinion and disputes concerning the days and even the months in which most affairs have occurred.

Alexander VI was Pope at the time,² and celebrated the Jubilee with a small concourse of pilgrims, because of the wars and pestilences of Italy.

The Knights of St. John were at the height of their power and influence, under the grand-mastership of Pierre d'Aubusson,³ but since they lost Rhodes and their posses-

¹ The true date was, of course, Monday, February 24, which is still reckoned as the bissextus or intercalary day in the ecclesiastical calendars of the countries of Continental Europe.

² 1492-1503.

³ D'Aubusson was Grand Master from 1476 to his death in 1503.

sions in Greece, in England, and in Germany, they have greatly declined.

Maximilian, the grandfather of Charles, was Emperor and King of the Romans,¹ and Germany at that time flourished both in learning and in Christian piety; almost all of which she has lost since then because of the heresies of Luther and of other false and wicked doctors.---

Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Kings, grand-parents of Charles, ruled in Castile and in Aragon,² and they certainly understood well the art of reigning. They kept all Spain at peace at that time, except Granada, where certain Moors rose in revolt; for which reason the Kings, at the advice of Friar Hernando de Talavera, the first Archbishop of Granada, and of Friar Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, confessors to the Queen, commanded that they should become Christians or else depart from their realms. They continued the war in Barbary, and the discovery, conquest and conversion of the Indies, and they aided the Venetians against the Turks, all of which was laudable and holy. Arms, justice, piety, and other good things, and also learning, flourished in Spain at that time, all of which has gone on from good to better, through the grace of God and the goodness of the Emperor, and so also will continue to do henceforth through the virtue of our Lord, King Philip. But there is a great difference between that time and this in many things, as, for example, in dress, in expense, and in the price of commodities, caused, in my judgment, by the great quantity of silver and gold which has come to us from the Indies.³

Prince Miguel dies in Granada.⁴ He was the son of King Manuel of Portugal and of his Queen, the Princess Isabel, and was to have been King of Portugal and of Castile.

The Infanta Maria of Castile weds King Manuel of

¹ 1493-1519.

² Isabella in Castile from 1474 to 1504; Ferdinand in Aragon from 1479 to 1516.

³ Cf. Introduction, pp. lii-liii.

⁴ July 20; cf. Peter Martyr, *Opus Epistolarum*, Epist. 216.

Portugal.¹ They had six sons, who were John, Louis, Ferdinand, Alfonso, Henry, and Edward, and Isabella who was our Empress, and Beatrice who was Duchess of Savoy.

Gonsalvo Hernández de Córdova, who deserved his title 'The Great Captain', went to capture Cephalonia with a Spanish fleet, in company with that of Venice, which Benito de Pesaro, also an excellent leader, brought to aid him.²

In Cuzco and Quito and the other immense provinces of Peru reigned Huayna Capac,³ a very rich, warlike, and idolatrous king.

In Navarre reigned Jean d'Albret,⁴ who afterwards lost his kingdom for heresy; he came to Seville that year when the Catholic kings were there.⁵ And in Portugal and Guinea reigned Manuel,⁶ who, through his captains, did notable deeds in Asia, in order to bring spices to Lisbon.

In France ruled Louis XII,⁷ who, keeping peace at home, made war in Italy against the Duke of Milan, and threatened the King of Naples.

England was well to the fore under the rule of Henry VIII,⁸ but since then that island has suffered many reverses, because she forsook the true Christian faith, although our sovereign lord, King Philip, and our lady, Queen Mary; his wife, have restored it.

Ladislaus was King of Hungary and Bohemia,⁹ and kept peace with the Turk, which was no small matter, and in Poland ruled Alexander,¹⁰ who had no children.

And in Muscovy, Vasili,¹¹ who strengthened the Christian religion by adopting the ritual and ceremonies of Rome.¹²

¹ Oct. 30. Cf. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Hernando*, Lib. IV, cap. xxi.

² Zurita, Lib. IV, caps. xix, xxv, xxx.

³ Died 1525. The date of his accession is apparently uncertain.

⁴ 1494-1512.

⁵ April 30; cf. Lorenzo Galindez Carvajal in *Documentos Inéditos*, xviii. 297.

⁶ 1495-1521.

⁷ 1498-1515.

⁸ Sic for Henry VII.

⁹ 1490-1516.

¹⁰ 1501-6. John Albert was king of Poland in 1500.

¹¹ Sic for Ivan III, who reigned from 1462 to 1505, Vasili succeeding him.

¹² This is, of course, a mistake. It doubtless arose from exaggerated

And in Denmark and Norway, John,¹ the father of that Christian who lost his realms, in which there are already Lutherans.

And in Scotland, James,² which name has now been borne by five kings in succession.

In Naples reigned Fadrique,³ who lost the kingdom, Ferdinand and Louis dividing it up between themselves. The Venetians, whose Doge at that time was Agostino Barbarigo,⁴ favoured the King of France against the Duke of Milan, and waged war in Greece against Bayazid, which put them to great fear and expense.

Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, lost and regained his state, and was captured that same year and carried to France, where he afterwards died in prison.⁵ This was his reward for having killed his nephew, Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who was lawful Duke.

Genoa was for France, and there were many factions within her walls, but since that time she has changed sides frequently, now favouring France and now Spain, for everyone desires her alliance, which is so important for him who would enter Italy, and in naval affairs. She has grown rich beyond measure through the alliance of the Emperor, our Lord and King, although she has also lost the Strait of Bonifacio and a large part of Corsica.⁶

Florence was free,⁷ but now she has a master because of the arrogance of her citizens, who gloried in the alliance of the French, recking naught of Pope Leo or Pope Clement, their neighbours, nor of the Emperor, Charles V, their feudal overlord.

Siena, which was self-governing then, is not now free.⁸

reports of the concessions made by Ivan III in the negotiations for his marriage. Cf. P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, vol. i.

¹ 1481-1513.

² 1488-1513.

³ 1496-1501.

⁴ 1486-1501.

⁵ May 17, 1508.

⁶ Cf. Jean d'Auton, 'Quiconque est seigneur de Gènes malgré tout le monde aura son entrée dedans le pays d'Italie.' The last sentence refers to the Corsican war of 1553-5. Corsica was restored to Genoa in 1559.

⁷ Refers to the period of the exile of the Medici, 1494-1512.

⁸ From 1497 to 1512 Siena was governed by a *Balia* of twenty-four citizens, chosen for five years.

Philibert was Duke of Savoy,¹ but now that state, which contained five principal cities, fifty lesser ones, and two hundred walled towns, is already broken up.²

In Tunis reigned Mohammed,³ who had many children by different wives, which was the cause of great wars.

In Bugia, Abdul Aziz, whose son lost it.⁴

In Tenes, Baudilla, who was disinherited.⁵

In Tlemcen, Abdalla.⁶

In Fez, Mohammed, to whom Oran belonged.⁷

The Ottoman, Bayazid II, was King of the Turks in Constantinople,⁸ and waged a terrible war against the Venetians in the Morea, where he took from them Modon, Choron, and other places.⁹

Mohammed reigned among the Tartars of Europe, and beyond the Don, Tucio.¹⁰

In Persia, Asam was Sultan.¹¹

And in Egypt, Kansu,¹² from whose successor the Grand Turk Selim took that great seigniory.

Canacao Alguari Noad Gran¹³ reigned in Ethiopia, which they also call India.

¹ Philibert II, 1497-1504.

² Referring to the French occupation, 1535-59.

³ Abu Abdallah Mohammed II, 1493-1525.

⁴ Cf. Bernáldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. ccxxiii; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ii. 427. Bugia was at this time a dependency of Tlemcen.

⁵ Cf. Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, Antwerp, 1681, vol. i, p. 103, and pp. 21 and 58 of this work.

⁶ Abu Abdallah Mohammed IV, of the Benu Zeiyan dynasty, 1475-1505.

⁷ Mohammed I of the Oatasside dynasty, 1500-30. Oran never belonged to him, as far as I can discover, but was always a part of the kingdom of Tlemcen; cf. Marmol, *L'Afrique*, ii. 363.

⁸ 1481-1512.

⁹ Bernáldez, cap. clxii.

¹⁰ The 'Tartars of Europe' doubtless means the Crimean Tartars, who were ruled at this time by Mengli Gherai (1478-1515), whose daughter married Selim I, the Turkish Sultan. He is often, however, confused with his successor Mohammed, as e.g. by Knolles, *History of the Turks* (ed. of 1621), p. 479. 'Tucio' I have been unable to identify: he was doubtless a ruler of one of the Mongol States in Russia. Cf. Stokvis, ii. 352 ff.

¹¹ *Sic* for Alban, Alamut or Alwend, 1497-1507.

¹² Kansu succeeded Tuman Bey I in 1501.

¹³ Probably referring to Na'od, king of Abyssinia, 1494-1508. Cf. Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, i. 443.

In Armenia and Cappadocia, Aladola was King.¹

And in Samarcand, Insilbas,² a Tartar of the Djagatai, who wear turbans.

And in Shiraz, Murad Cam.³

Ismail Sophy was beginning to gain renown and power on account of his conquest of Tabriz, from which he forced King Alban to take flight, and by killing Murad Cam the same year.⁴

Ismail was the son of Sheikh Haidar, lord of Erbe,⁵ a place in Persia, and a most pious though schismatic Moslem, and of Martha, granddaughter of David,⁶ the Emperor of Trébizond, and daughter of Uzun Hasan, the very famous King of Persia, where he was succeeded by his son Yakub, who murdered his two brothers. Yakub married a woman who gave him a just reward for that cruel deed, for, in order that she might wed one Salub, she poisoned Yakub with one of her own sons, although she herself likewise perished from the same drugs, which her husband, who suspected them, caused her also to drink. After this, Salub, as the nearest relative of Yakub, reigned for three years, and was succeeded by Baisingar, who died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Rustan, against whom, as King of Persia, Sheikh Haidar made war, claiming the realm as his own through Martha, the legitimate daughter of Uzun Hasan, but Sheikh Haidar was slain in battle, and so Martha and three children, of whom Ismail was the middle one, were banished to an island in the lake which they call

¹ Or Ala-ed-Daula, 1472-1515.

² Jesilbas or Sheibani Khan, founder of the Usbeg power. Cf. p. 115 of Giov. Maria Angiolello, *Life and Acts of King Ussun Cassano*, ed. Hakluyt Society, 1873, in *Travels of Venetians in Persia*; also p. 155 of the account of Caterino Zeno, in the same, also P. Jovius, *Historia sui Temporis* (Venice, 1572), vol. i, p. 380; also Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, vol. i, p. 157.

³ Angiolello, 105 ff.

⁴ On this and the succeeding paragraph cf. Jovius, i, 312 ff., 380; Angiolello, 73, 99 ff.; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, i, 251 ff.

⁵ Or Erdebil or Ardabil: cf. Jorga, ii, 251; and P. Teixeira's *Travels in Persia*, ed. Hakluyt Society, 1902, p. 246 n.

⁶ A mistake; Martha was the granddaughter of David's brother, Calo Johannes, or Black John. Cf. Zeno, p. 9.

Astumar. After six years Rustan was slain in his bed by Ahmad, who had Rustan's own mother as his mistress, both of them thinking to seize his throne, but they did not succeed, for the next King was Alban, the son, according to some accounts, of Yakub, and according to others a relative of Ismail. Then, although he was but fifteen years old, Ismail proclaimed himself King of Persia. He collected five hundred men among the relatives and friends of his father at Carabas, resolutely crossed the river Kur, which flows into the Caspian Sea (which they call the Sea of Bacum), in order to enter Ardebil,¹ which belonged to his father, and scattered the forces which Sermangoli, a friend of Alban,² sent to attack him on his way. After this good beginning many people joined him, on hearing of his great power and noble lineage. He then conquered Sermangoli in battle, besieged and took Piroso,³ a strong and rich town, where he won a reputation for generosity, so that shortly afterwards he had forty thousand warriors and a great number of horses, with whose aid he captured Tabriz, from which Alban fled. It is said that he put twenty thousand persons to death in the city, because they had been enemies of his father, Sheikh Haidar, and he even dug up and burnt the bones of many others, and he put to death his mother and stepfather a year before he conquered Murad Cam.⁴ Thereafter Ismail went on extending his military power and renown through Persia, Parthia, Media, and other provinces of Asia in such a way that he created one of the great lordships of our time, and one which has caused many deaths, robberies, and other evils in other parts, though it is indeed but natural that such things should occur with changes of kingdoms and innovations in religion. They say that Ismail was born with his fists clenched and covered with blood, a sign of cruelty,

¹ Or Erdebil; cf. note 44.

² Or Alamut or Alwend.

³ Angiolello, p. 104, has 'Pucosco'.

⁴ This last passage is in such close accord with Angiolello as to make it almost certain that the latter's account was the one referred to in the last sentence of this paragraph. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

so that his father, who was an astrologer, and his mother, in disgust at the sight of him, ordered that he be slain. But the servants saved him and brought him up, and as he grew to be handsome and able, the soldiers called him Sophy, either in flattery or in accordance with the ancient custom of Persia, whose kings call themselves magicians,—that is, wise men, which is the same as Sophy; or else because he revived and upheld the sect of Sheikh Haidar, his father,¹ together with Techelles, another great expounder of the Koran, who taught that only those would go to the Mohammedan Paradise who kept the law of the Prophet according to the doctrine and teaching of Ali, his disciple. The Sophy Ismail and all those of his sect wear a red turban with a braid under the arm which has on it twelve knots or tassels or pearls, in token of the twelve mysteries which his law contains. And they shave their beards, leaving only a moustache; while in other respects they follow the most ancient Persian fashion. This is a little different from the way in which Paul Jovius, the diligent historian of Turkish affairs, recounts it, but I found it related in this wise in a book which Hernando Ruy brought from Constantinople, written in manuscript and taken from the histories of that part of the world.

Pedro Alvarez² takes thirteen armed ships to India, which was the beginning of the Portuguese spice trade in Calicut, Cochin, and Cananor.

The Year 1501

The Emperor Maximilian invests his grandson with the Duchy of Milan.³

¹ That is the Sufis or Safawis.

² Pedro Alvarez Cabral. He discovered Brazil on the way. Cf. Damião de Goes, *Chronica do Rei D. Emanuel* in *Bibliotheca de Classicos Portuguezes*, vols. lix-lx, caps. liv-lix; Bourne, *Spain in America*, pp. 73-4, 329-30.

³ Merely a vague and conditional promise by Maximilian in connexion with his negotiations with France between 1501 and 1504. Cf. Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vol. v, part i, pp. 67-71; Leva, *Storia documentata di Carlo V*, i. 70-85; Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, 99 ff.

The Infanta Catharine marries Arthur, Prince of Wales.¹ There went to England with her Alfonso de Fonseca, who at that time was Archbishop of Santiago, Antonio de Rojas, Bishop of Majorca, Pedro Manrique, Lord of Val de Escaray, the Count of Cabra and his mother, Elvira Manuel, and many other gentlefolk.²

King Louis and King Ferdinand divide the Kingdom of Naples between themselves.³

The Moors of the Sierra Vermeja rise in rebellion because they do not wish to become Christians, and they slay Don Alonzo de Aguilar, who went against them with an army, but afterwards they surrendered themselves to the King on the understanding that he would suffer them to go to Barbary.⁴ Justice was executed by the Catholic King on those of Benefiz,⁵ because of their rising of a year before.

The Catholic Kings send Peter Martyr, their chronicler, to the Soldan of Cairo, to dissuade him from forcing the Christians who dwell in his land to become Mohammedans.⁶

The Archduke Philip and the Princess Joanna come from Flanders to Spain⁷ by way of France, where they spoke of a marriage between their son Charles, and Claudia, the daughter of King Louis XII.

The castle of Salsas, which the French had demolished six years before, is reconstructed and fortified.⁸ King Louis appropriates the tenth part of the benefices in France for the war against the Turks.

The Duke of Valentino⁹ captures Imola¹⁰ and other lands in the Romagna.

¹ Nov. 14.

² Zurita, Lib. IV, cap. xlix; also Busch, *England under the Tudors*; translated by A. M. Todd, pp. 353-4; *Spanish Calendar*, vol. i. 246-7.

³ P. Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, Epist. 218.

⁴ Ibid., Epist. 221; Zurita, Lib. IV, caps. xxxi-xxxiii.

⁵ *Sic* for Belefiqui or Velefique, north of Almeria. Cf. Carvajal in *Docs. Inéds.* xviii. 299.

⁶ Zurita, Lib. IV, cap. xxxii; also Mariéjol, *Pierre Martyr*, chap. v.

⁷ They arrived in Spain in January, 1502. Cf. Carvajal in *Docs. Inéds.* xviii. 302-3.

⁸ P. Martyr, *Op. Epist.*, Epist. 228. Salsas is just north of Perpignan.

⁹ Caesar Borgia.

¹⁰ This should be Faenza. Imola was taken in 1499. Cf. Burd's edition of *Il Principe*, pp. 108 and 112.

The Turks wage war in Greece and in Hungary, though without advantage to themselves.

The Sophy Ismail marries Tasluca,¹ the daughter of Sani-gin and granddaughter of Yakub, and gave her one hundred and fifty servants.

The King of Portugal sends the Galician, Juan de Nova, to India with four ships to get spices.²

The Year 1502

Princess Joanna is sworn to as heiress of these realms of Castile, in presence of her parents, the Catholic Kings, at Toledo.³

The Catholic Kings recover Gibraltar for themselves.⁴ The same sovereigns command that all Moors depart from Castile or else become converted at once, since the Queen desires her subjects to be Christians.

General chapter of the Order of Santiago in Seville, in which many ancient rules are changed, on account of the King's having already annexed the grand masterships.

Arthur, Prince of Wales, dies, five months after his marriage, at the age of twenty-five years.⁵

John, who became King of Portugal, is born.⁶

James, Duke of Braganza, slays his wife, the which may be a warning to married women not to play tricks on their husbands.⁷

Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, comes a prisoner to Spain.⁸

King Fadrique of Naples also comes to France with his wife and children.⁸

¹ Angiolello, p. 106.

² Damião de Goes in *Bibl. de Class. Port.*, vol. lx, cap. lxiii.

³ May 22. Cf. Zurita, Lib. IV, cap. lix.

⁴ Zurita, Lib. IV, cap. liv.

⁵ April 2. He was fifteen, not twenty-five years old.

⁶ June 5.

⁷ This occurred in 1512. Cf. Carvajal in *Docs. Inédts.* xviii. 429-30. Braganza apparently deserted his wife in 1502; cf. Damião de Goes in *Bibl. de Class. Port.*, vol. lx, cap. lxi.

⁸ Zurita, Lib. IV, cap. lviii; Burd, 113.

The French in Naples provoke a war against the Spaniards about the boundaries, the which cost them dear.

Then occurred that most famous combat in Trani between eleven Frenchmen and eleven Spaniards on horseback, because the French had said that the Spaniards were no horsemen, but mere foot-soldiers, and that their own king had the better claim to Naples.¹ The Spaniards were Diego García de Paredes, who conquered his adversary; Diego de Vera, who later became very famous in the affairs of Algiers and of Fuenterrabía; the Alferez Segura, and Moreno his brother; Andres de Olivera; Gonzalo de Arevalo, and George Diaz, the Portuguese; Oñate; Martin de Tuesta, steward of the Great Captain; Rodrigo Piñan, and Gonzalo de Aller, who for his misfortune was vanquished. Those of the French whom I know of were Tersis, Montdragon, Arthur, Olivier, Cabanacio, and Pierre du Terrail, Seigneur de Bayard, who afterwards dubbed King Francis knight after he had conquered the Swiss. They fought so well that the judges, who were Venetians, did not award the victory to either side. Gonzalo de Aller, who was certainly valiant, at once challenged the conquered Frenchman, on the ground that he had had less cause to surrender than had the latter.

There also took place another combat between thirteen Frenchmen and thirteen Italians, who averred that the Spaniards had won the fight, and moreover the Italians conquered, since they were right.²

The Duke of Valentino captures Urbino, Pesaro, and other towns with the aid of the Swiss and the French, whose captain was Yves d'Allègre.³

¹ On this paragraph cf. Zurita, Lib. V, cap. iii; and *Crónicas del Gran Capitan* in vol. x of *Nueva Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, pp. 120-3, 333-8. Gómara's account is largely copied by Sandoval, i. 5. Save for Bayard and Montdragon, his list of the French combatants is apparently incorrect; cf. Jean d'Auton, *Gchroniques*, pt. iv, chap. xxvii, and Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vol. v, pt. i, p. 61.

² Cf. the *Crónicas* in *Nueva Bibl. de Aut. Esp.* x. 144-7, 342-7, and Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia* (ed. Freiburg, 1775-6), vol. i, pp. 480 ff.

³ Cf. Yriarte, *César Borgia*, ii. 75-92. 'Pesaro' should be 'Camerino'.

The Emperor Maximilian makes war on Philip of the Palatinate in Bavaria.¹

The King of France enters Genoa.²

Peace between Bayazid and the Venetians, which lasted more than thirty-five years.³

Peace also between Ladislaus, King of Hungary, and the same Bayazid.³

Ismail Sophy conquers by force of arms Bagdad, which is also called Balday, and is Babylon of Mesopotamia.⁴

The King of Portugal assumes the new titles of sovereign of the realms of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India.⁵

The Year 1503

The Archduke returns to Flanders by way of France, and concludes peace between Maximilian, Louis and Ferdinand at Lyons, promising to marry his son Charles to Claudia, daughter of King Louis, who was to inherit Brittany.⁶ Charles was not four years old at the time, nor Claudia five.

The Infante Ferdinand, who became King of Hungary and of the Romans, was born in Alcalá de Henares.⁷

Count Ferdinand of Andrada routs Everard of Abigniel in the battle of Groya.⁸

The victory which the Great Captain won over the French at Cerignola.⁹

Another victory which he won over the same Frenchmen on the Garigliano.¹⁰

The siege of Gaeta, in which Hugo de Cardona, who was a most excellent leader, was slain.¹¹

¹ Probably referring to the Landshut Succession War of 1504. Cf. Ulmann, vol. ii, chap. iv.

² In August. Cf. Burd, p. 115.

³ Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, iv. 702.

⁴ Angiolello, p. 107. Bagdad and the ruins of Babylon are some seventy miles apart: the one on the Tigris, the other on the Euphrates.

⁵ Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, p. 90.

⁶ Zurita, Lib. V, cap. x.

⁷ March 10.

⁸ I have been unable to identify this battle or the participants in it. B. M. MS. has 'Abigni' and 'Gloya' for 'Abigniel' and 'Groya'.

⁹ April 28. *Nueva Bibl. de Aut. Esp.* x. 368.

¹⁰ Dec. 28. *Ibid.* 399.

¹¹ Guicciardini, ii. 12.

The French besiege Salsas, Sancho of Castile defending it.¹

The Catholic King, who had held Cortes at Saragossa and Barcelona, relieves Salsas, and Queen Isabella sent large companies of Castilians from as far as Soria to help him.²

Fadrique de Toledo, Duke of Alva, general-in-chief of the army, pursues the French. His forces comprised thirteen thousand foot, two thousand men-at-arms, and four thousand troopers.

Bernardo de Rojas, Marquis of Denia, remains in Salsas as general-in-chief, with three thousand soldiers, two thousand troopers, and one thousand men-at-arms.³

Treaty of peace between King Ferdinand and King Louis, after this affair of Roussillon and that of Naples, according to the tenor of which the French are to be allowed to regain their part of that realm by force of arms if they can and the Spaniards to defend themselves in it.⁴

Pope Alexander dies of poison,⁵ which his son, Caesar Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, gave him, through a mistake on the part of the bottler. He was a native of Játiva, learned, generous, and a lover of splendour, but so worldly that he caused great extravagance in the Church. He was fond of women, and had many children who brought him honour, as did Lucrezia, of whom the Pasquinade⁶ said that she was a queer sort of daughter, and devoted to the interests of the Duke of Valentinois, whom she contrived to make king. He involved himself, not without shame, in many wars and lavish expenditure. He rebuilt the castle of Sant' Angelo, and the small affair of Santa Maria Maggiore,

¹ Bernáldez, cap. cxviii; Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (London, 1876), vol. iii, pp. 93 ff.

² Ibid. and Zurita, Lib. V, caps. l-liv; P. Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, Epist. 260, 262-4, 266. 'Soria' should be 'Segovia'.

³ Bernáldez, cap. cc.

⁴ Probably referring to the terms of the surrender of Gaeta, Jan. 1, 1504; cf. Zurita, Lib. V, cap. lxi; or possibly to the peace of Lyons, Feb. 11, 1504; cf. Burd, p. 123.

⁵ Aug. 18. On the poisoning story and other legends about Alexander, cf. Creighton, *History of the Papacy* (edition of 1901), vol. v, pp. 79 ff., Burd, p. 119.

⁶ On the Pasquinade cf. D. Gnoli, *Le Origini di Maestro Pasquino*.

and an apartment in the palace, and he left to his heirs the Duchy of Gandía.

Pope Pius III dies also, within a month of his election, for which cause that year was very notable.¹

Pope Julius II begins to rule the Church.²

Princess Joanna returns by sea to Flanders.³ His Majesty could never keep her here because of what he did and said to her.

The Year 1504

The peace which the Archduke Philip made in Lyons is sworn to in La Mejorada for three years.⁴

Earthquakes occur in Seville, Carmona, and other places in Andalusia.⁵

Queen Isabella dies in Medina del Campo,⁶ which caused great sadness in Castile, although she commanded that no one should wear mourning for her, since she knew the excess to which she had caused it to be worn for Prince John, her son. She also commanded that her husband, King Ferdinand, should govern until her grandson Charles was twenty years of age, in case her daughter, Princess Joanna, would not or could not do so. At the suggestion of Friar Hernando de Talavera she erected the Inquisition, because she herself had noted that certain recently converted Jews in Seville were relapsing and causing her servants to do likewise. She also established the Hermandad, because of the many criminals with whom the ordinary courts of

¹ Elected Sept. 22; died Oct. 18.

² Nov. 1.

³ In March, 1504. Cf. Zurita, Lib. V, cap. lxvi; Carvajal in *Docs. Inéds.* xviii. 308.

⁴ March 31. Cf. Carvajal in *Docs. Inéds.* xviii. 308. La Mejorada is a Hieronymite monastery near Olmedo.

⁵ On Good Friday, April 5. Cf. Zurita, Lib. V, cap. lxxxiv, Bernaldez, cap. cci.

⁶ Nov. 26. On this paragraph cf. Zurita, Lib. V, cap. lxxxiv; Bernaldez, cap. ccii; Prescott, iii. 172 ff. Also Isabella's will in Dormer, *Discursos Varios*, pp. 314-93. Sandoval (i, 9) copies thirty-five lines from Gómara here, almost word for word. The 'lady Joanna' refers of course to 'La Beltraneja', who asserted that she was the daughter of Henry IV. The last line of the paragraph is very obscure as it stands in the text. I have given what seems to me to be its most probable meaning.

justice were incompetent to deal. She shouldered the cross against the Infidels, and counselled her husband, the Catholic King, to do likewise ; but when she saw the nine million maravedís which had been collected for this purpose, she was very much vexed and scolded about it ; indeed she would not consent to the spending of a single penny, except it were granted for some specific purpose ; nor would the King. At first she desired to govern alone, and this was the cause of violent quarrels between her and her husband, who was as proud as she ; and she once said to Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza (who brought them to an agreement), ‘ If I were not to ask for as much as I do the King would give me nothing at all ; and it is only in this way that I manage to keep on even terms with my lord the King in the management of my realms.’ She was niggardly, as is the custom of women, but she strongly urged her son Prince John, who was the apple of her eye, to give lavishly. She was much distressed that her servants, even if they were ambassadors, should accept presents from any one, and said that for them to do so appeared to dishonour her. She was exceedingly dignified, and used to say that the kings of Castile had no relatives who were their peers. She was very chaste, a great lover of justice, and deeply religious. From her girlhood she had many trials, for she was in disgrace with her brother, King Henry, and in rivalry with the most Excellent Lady Joanna for the inheritance, and she experienced poverty with her husband before they came to the throne. She had the good fortune to marry an excellent man, although after her death he was guilty of certain faults and frailties. They were, however, the best married couple and the best sovereigns of their time. She commanded that she be buried in the Chapel of Granada, which she had constructed and endowed for the burial of the Kings of Castile. She also restored the ancient ceremonies of the *Cofradía de la Corte*.

King Ferdinand publicly renounced in Toro the title of King of Castile, though he retained that of regent by virtue of the will of the Catholic Queen his wife, and he pro-

claims by public announcements with trumpets and drums that his daughter Joanna and his son-in-law Philip are lawful sovereigns, whilst Fadrique, Duke of Alva, holds aloft the Royal Standard of Castile.¹ The Great Captain, at the command of the Catholic King, sends captive to Castile the Duke of Valentinois, who thus ended by losing by war in Italy all that he had thereby won there.²

Pope Julius begins to cherish resentment against the Venetians and against Faenza, Rimini, and other places which had belonged to the Duke of Valentinois.³

A new treaty of peace between the Emperor Maximilian and Louis, King of France.³

A tax of one hundred and twenty maravedís the bushel is imposed on wheat in Castile, which caused great hunger and even want, and so they told the Queen, who had ordered the tax to be levied, that God alone, who created her, could lower and raise the price of bread. The Jews acknowledge themselves to be slaves, in an argument with the lawyers, because of their many and great sins.

The Year 1505

The Alcaide de los Donzeles captures Mers-el-Kebir.⁴

The Catholic King, and King Philip the First of that name, begin to quarrel over the government of Castile, although the latter was still in Flanders.⁵

King Philip conquers in battle Charles Egmont, Duke of Guelders, who had usurped that state. The King of France aided the Duke, with full cognizance of the Catholic King.⁶

The Infanta Maria, who became Queen of Hungary and Regent of the Netherlands, is born.⁷

¹ Zurita, Lib. V, cap. lxxxiv.

² Guicciardini, ii. 62.

³ Burd, pp. 123-4.

⁴ Sept. 13. The Alcaide de los Donzeles was Diego Fernández de Córdoba. Cf. Zurita, Lib. VI, cap. xv; Carvajal in *Docs. Inédts.* xviii. 311.

⁵ Zurita, Lib. VI, caps. i, ii, viii.

⁶ Henne, *Charles-Quint en Belgique*, i. 65 ff.

⁷ Sept. 13. Carvajal, p. 311.

The Emperor Maximilian makes war in Hungary.¹ Fadrique, King of Naples, dies in France,² having miserably suffered the loss of that noble realm which his grandfather, King Alfonso of Aragon, had conquered with so much courage and labour.

An agreement is made between Kings Ferdinand and Philip, though it did not last long.³

The Florentines and Pisans make war on one another.⁴

The Catholic King, through Rodrigo Manrique, asks the Excellent Lady⁵ to marry him, in order that with her as his Queen he might reinforce his claim to Castile as against King Philip, but King Manuel was unwilling to give her up, nor would she come of her own accord, since in addition to being old, she was also a saint, as pure as the one whose name she bore.

Alonzo de Fonseca, Bishop of Osma, dies, and Alonzo Enriquez succeeds him.⁶

The Year 1506

When King Philip and Queen Joanna came to Spain from Flanders in January, they encountered a violent tempest, and had a fire on board their ship, whose pilot was named Santiago. The ship, moreover, ran aground or, as they call it, on a sand bank, where it would have infallibly been lost if a huge wave had not driven it in the other direction with its tremendous impact. The Queen, on that occasion, showed that she had the courage of a man, for when the King told her that she would not escape the danger, she clothed herself richly and loaded herself with coins, in order

¹ Ulmann, ii. 267 ff.

² Sept. 9, 1504. * Cf. Burd, p. 113.

³ Nov. 24, at Salamanca. Zurita, Lib. VI, cap. xxiii.

⁴ Burd, pp. 122-3.

⁵ Meaning Joanna, 'la Beltraneja,' who was Isabella's rival for the throne of Castile from 1474 to 1480. Cf. note 6, p. 14. On Ferdinand's project of marriage with her cf. Prescott, iii. 204 n.

⁶ Carvajal, p. 312. Fonseca died Nov. 26. Cf. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 57.

that she might be recognized and suitably buried. But they did not perish after all.¹

King Philip, exhausted by the sea, lands in England against the wishes of his friends,² and verily it cost him dear, for he was forced to give up Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the heir of the House of York, on receiving a promise that he should not be executed, but the King of England did not keep his word and told them that if they did not give up the Duke, they would not be suffered to leave the island. According to John Manuel this was because King Henry had letters from King Ferdinand asking him to detain them.

King Philip and King Henry renew their alliance at Windsor,³ and agree that the Infanta Catharine should marry as her second husband her brother-in-law, Henry.

The sovereigns land at Corunna amid great rejoicings of the people.⁴

Kings Philip and Ferdinand have an interview at Remesal,⁵ in hopes of reaching an agreement but they failed to conclude one, nor did King Ferdinand even see the Queen his daughter, since John Manuel, who was close in the confidence of King Philip, prevented him.

Shortly after this, King Philip, to the great grief of all men, dies in Burgos, at the age of twenty-nine years,⁶ and

¹ Sandoval (i. 10) again copies several lines here and in the next paragraph.

² Jan. 16, at Melcombe Regis. Busch, pp. 190 ff., 372 ff. Henry promised to spare Suffolk's life and kept his word: but the Earl (not Duke) was executed in the next reign.

³ Feb. 9. Zurita, Lib. VI, cap. xxv. The text of the treaty in Rymer's *Foedera*, xiii. 123-7, does not mention the marriage of Henry and Catharine.

⁴ Sandoval, i. 10; Prescott, iii. 210.

⁵ According to Prescott, iii. 213-16, and to Sandoval, i. 10, this interview took place at Puebla de Sanabria. Cf. also Zurita, Lib. VI, caps. xxviii-xxx, xxxii; Lib. VI, caps. i-vii, x.

⁶ Sept. 25. Zurita, Lib. VII, cap. xv; Sandoval, i. 11. The latter's account is obviously taken from Gómara. I have slightly emended l. 36 of the text, according to the version of Sandoval, who may well have copied from Gómara's original manuscript, by substituting 'porque' for 'aunque', and by inserting 'no' before 'se', in order to make sense. The text, as it stood, was practically untranslatable, and the B. M. MS., virtually identical with the Madrid one at this point, sheds no light on the matter.

without ever enjoying the great realms and riches which would otherwise have been his. He died, complaining of those who had put him at such odds with his father-in-law, and of the fate which prevented his having anything to give his friends. He commanded that his heart be carried to Brussels, and his body to Granada, and that his entrails remain at Burgos. He was a handsome man, though a little fat, and of good heart and brain, generous, and could never refuse anything: so much so, indeed, that once when a man begged a certain office of him he replied that he had not given it to him because he had not asked for it; 'If they had asked me for it,' he added, 'I would have granted it.' He left by the Queen the following children: Charles, of whom these Annals treat, who was King of Spain and Emperor; Ferdinand, who became King of Hungary and Emperor; Eleanor, who was Queen of Portugal and of France; Isabel, who, to her misfortune, married Christian, King of Denmark and Norway; Maria, who ruled in Hungary; and Catharine, Queen of Portugal, who was posthumous.

Marriage of the Catholic King Ferdinand in Dueñas with Germaine de Foix, his own niece and niece to King Louis of France;¹ truce with the French for one hundred and one years being made at the same time, with some stipulations not entirely good. Juan de Silva, Count of Cifuentes, and Doctor Thomas Malferit, vice-chancellor of Aragon, went to fetch her and arranged the treaties.

King Ferdinand passes over to Naples after his disagreement with King Philip,² and was certainly sorry to leave Castile, so sweet a thing it is to reign, and so great are the wealth and power of a king.

With the death of the one King and the absence of the other there were many troubles in these realms of Castile,

¹ Mar. 18. Cf. Carvajal, p. 313. Cf. also Zurita, Lib. VI, cap. xviii; Prescott, iii. 205. Germaine was the granddaughter of Ferdinand's half-sister, Eleanor of Navarre, daughter, by his first wife, of John II of Aragon.

² Embarked at Barcelona, Sept. 4, 1506. Cf. Zurita, Lib. VII, cap. xiv.

for no one desired to obey the law, nor was the Queen willing to command. The Duke of Medina Sidonia fights at Gibraltar, the Count of Lemos, the Duke of Alva, and the Count of Benavente taking arms against him. Factions arise in most of the cities, some of them in favour of summoning Charles, others Ferdinand, and others Maximilian, and a very few Joanna, since she did not desire to undertake the government. Wherefore, Cardinal Friar Francisco Ximenes, Bernardino de Velasco, Constable of Castile, and Pedro Manrique de Lara, Duke of Nájera, assumed power, with the advice and goodwill of the majority of the lords.¹

Gonçalo Marino de Rivera, Alcaide of Melilla, takes Cazaza.² The Duke of Valentinois escapes from the castle of Medina del Campo, not without peril, and betakes himself straight to Rodrigo Pimentel, Count of Benavente, and from him to Navarre.³

The uprising in Lisbon at the instigation of the Friars, in which over three thousand new Christians died. King Manuel, who commanded the friars and seventy other men, chastised many of the revolutionists for what they had done.⁴

Betrothal of the Dauphin, Francis of Angoulême, and Claudia, daughter of King Louis of France, and Duchess of Brittany, who had been promised to Charles, Prince of Castile.⁵ French ambassadors come to Valladolid to make their excuses.

Pope Julius forcibly expels from Bologna the Tyrant Giovanni di Bentivoglio, a proceeding which caused offence to certain cardinals.⁶

War of certain Genoese, near Monaco.⁷ The death of Christopher Columbus, who discovered the Indies and therefore will have eternal glory.⁸

¹ Zurita, Lib. VII, caps. xv-xvii, xxi-xxii, xxiv-xxx. Sandoval (i. 12) again plagiarizes here.

² In April. Bernáldez, cap. cciv. Cazaza is close to Melilla.

³ Oct. 25. Zurita, Lib. VII, cap. xxiii.

⁴ Bernáldez, cap. ccvi.

⁵ May 21. Cf. Sandoval, i. 12, and Lavissee, vol. v, pt. i, p. 76.

⁶ Nov. 2-11. Cf. Burd, p. 127.

⁷ Guicciardini, ii. 116-19.

⁸ May 20. Cf. Gómara's *Hist. de las Indias* in *Bibl. Autores Españoles*, xxii. 172.

The Year 1507

Kings Louis and Ferdinand, who had been so much at variance about Naples, have an interview at Savona.¹ When he was dining with Queen Germaine, the King of France caused the Great Captain to sit at table with them, which was a great honour for him.

The Catholic King returns to govern Castile, and settled the troubles which had occurred there without much disturbance.²

Queen Joanna and King Ferdinand meet at Tortoles.³

And Queen Joanna met Queen Germaine in Venta Baños, and the latter took the former's hand to kiss it, although she was her stepmother.⁴

The Infanta Catharine is born in Torquemada.⁵

A very general plague ravages Spain, after there had been famine.⁶

Friar Hernando de Talavera, of the Hieronymite Order and the first Archbishop of Granada, dies and was accounted a saint.⁷

Alfonso de Fonseca, with the consent of the Catholic King, abdicates the archbishopric of Santiago in favour of his son Alfonso, which was an innovation.⁸

The King of Tenes begs the aid of King Ferdinand against the King of Tlemcen, who was despoiling him of his state.⁹

Treaty of marriage between Prince Charles, and Mary, Princess of Wales, daughter of King Henry VIII of England, he being eight years old and she ten.¹⁰

¹ June 28–July 1. Cf. R. de Maulde, *L'Entrevue de Savone* in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, iv. 583–90; Burd, p. 129. Almost all the contemporary authorities mention the invitation to Gonsalvo, which apparently made a deep impression.

² Bernáldez, cap. ccxi.

³ Aug. 28.

⁴ Sept. 2. Cf. Sandoval, i. 13.

⁵ Jan. 14. Cf. Carvajal, p. 317.

⁶ Possibly refers to the locusts in 1508–9. Cf. Bernáldez, cap. ccxiv.

⁷ May 8. Carvajal, p. 318.

⁸ Ibid., p. 319.

⁹ Zurita, Lib. VIII, cap. xi; but also pp. 5 and 58 of this work.

¹⁰ Dec. 21. Henry VIII should, of course, be Henry VII. Cf. Busch, pp. 220, 379–80, and vol. ix of *The Camden Miscellany*.

The war which Charles, Duke of Guelders, wages in Brabant, with the support of the King of France.¹

The Emperor Maximilian stirs up a war against the Venetians because they had risen against him and the King of France, in order to shut them out of Italy.²

King Louis obtains the investiture of Milan, though he did it by cunning.³ This was the cause of many wars and evils.

Giovanni di Bentivoglio tries to recover Bologna by force of arms, but was unable to do so, and therefore was obliged to live in Busseto with his twenty-one children as an exile from his own land.⁴

Revolt and wars in Genoa, on account of which the King of France entered the city with an armed force, and constructed the Lantern, a very powerful fortress.⁵

Great wars are fought by the Turks and the Persians, the former being twice victorious, and the latter once.⁶

Ismail Sophy wages a great war on King Aladola in Cappadocia, and takes from him Albistan, Marash, and other cities.⁷

War between King John of Navarre and Louis de Beaumont, which went ill for the former. In it Caesar Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, met his death.⁸

Caesar Borgia was the son of Pope Alexander and of a Roman woman called Vanozza Catanei.⁹ He was very comely, save that he had so many blotches on his face and such evil eyes that he shunned walking abroad during the day-time, for he clearly showed by his countenance what a cruel heart he had. He was a very rich Cardinal, and among

¹ Henne, i. 149 ff.

² Cf. Ulmann, vol. ii, chap. vi; de Leva, i. 99-104.

³ Possibly refers to the guarantee to Louis by the Venetians of the possession of Milan, Burd, p. 130; Leva, i. 100.

⁴ Guicciardini, ii. 161-2. The actual attempt was apparently made by Annibale and Ermete Bentivoglio. On Giovanni di Bentivoglio see Jovius, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel, 1575), pp. 261-3.

⁵ Louis entered Genoa April 29; Guicciardini, ii. 119 ff.

⁶ A mistake. Ismail was at much pains to keep peace with Bayazid.

⁷ Angiolello, pp. 108-9.

⁸ Mar. 12. Cf. Zurita, Lib. VII, cap. li.

⁹ On this paragraph cf. Zurita, Lib. VII, cap. li; Yriarte, *César Borgia* (Paris, 1889, 2 vols.).

other benefices held the archbishopric of Pamplona and afterwards that of Valencia. He earnestly desired to change his calling, since the sword seemed better suited to him than the breviary, and he gave up his Cardinal's hat and his benefices in spite of the opposition and censures of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, and in order that it might seem a lawful and honourable act he gave evidence to show that he was illegitimate, in spite of the fact that his father had declared the contrary when he created him Cardinal. He won the favour of King Louis XII of France by means of a licence or dispensation which his father gave him, permitting that King to marry the Duchess Anne of Brittany, and to abandon Queen Jeanne, his first wife, because she bore him no children. He himself also was married in France to Charlotte de Foix, daughter of Alain d'Albret, a great and noble lord, who brought him Valence, so that he was called Duke Valentin, or the Duke of Valentinois, according to the French tongue. He also desired to be Duke of Gandía, and it is said that in order to accomplish this purpose he threw the Duke, his brother, into the Tiber. His father made him general-in-chief of the armies of the Church in place of the Duke who was drowned, and promised to make him Lord of the Romagna, of Spoleto, of the March of Ancona, and of other states, provided he would expel from them their rulers, whom he called tyrants of the Patrimonium Petri. Caesar then drove them all out, by force and fear, in the course of two or three years, and won such glory and renown that they say that all men feared him and even Bayazid, the Great Turk, desired to make a treaty with him in order to be able to attack the Venetians. He persecuted the Orsini and Colonne cruelly, publicly murdering certain gentlemen of those families and even some cardinals. He tortured the clergy, so the story goes, in order to extort money for war. Finally he gave poison to his father, although it was through a mistake of the bottler, his real aim being to kill certain cardinals whom he had invited to dine, and indeed he would have perished himself in the same way, as he deserved to do, had he not

had his body buried in that of a mule, which they cut open alive, leaving only his head outside. However, as a result of his illness, and of the death of his father, he lost what he had, and the Great Captain took him prisoner at Naples, where people were beginning to collect, and sent him to Spain, although on promise that no harm should come to him. He fled to Navarre, after escaping from the Castle of Medina del Campo by lowering himself with ropes. When he was there, Ximen García de los Fayos, otherwise called Agreda, and another brother of his,¹ killed him because he had grievously quarrelled with the followers of the Count of Lerin, who were going to relieve the Castle of Viana from starvation. Certain men of Logroño who were there told me how the drummer, Damiancillo, finished him off as he lay groaning on the ground. In this wise died the valiant Duke of Valentinois, whose vices equalled and concealed his learning, generosity, courage, and energy. He was marvellously expert in the use of every sort of arms, on foot and on horseback, and exceedingly nimble in jumping, running, wrestling, handling weapons, and tilting.

Truce for three years between the Venetians and the Emperor Maximilian.²

The Year 1508

Count Pedro Navarro captures Peñon de Velez de la Gomera, and afterwards a fortress was constructed there.³ Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Priego, captures the Alcalde de Corte, Fernán Gomez de Herrera, of Madrid, and takes him from Córdoba to Montilla.⁴

The Catholic King punishes the Marquis of Priego for capturing his alcalde, by destroying the fortress of Montilla.⁵

And he likewise punishes Pedro de Giron because he carried off to Portugal the Duke of Medina Sidonia, whose guardian he was.⁶

¹ Yriarte (ii. 275) gives the names of Luis García de Agredo and of Pedro de Allo.

² June 6, 1508. Ulmann, ii. 357.

³ Cf. Zurita, Lib. VIII, cap. xxiii.

⁵ Ibid., caps. xx-xxii.

⁴ Ibid., caps. xx-xxii.

⁶ Ibid., cap. xxv.

Cardinal Friar Francisco Ximenes imprisons Lucero, a severe Inquisitor.¹

The King of Fez with one hundred thousand Moors lays siege to Arcilla, which was defended by Count Vasco de Borba. This caused great warlike preparations to be made in Portugal and even in Castile for its relief, and Antonio de Fonseca collected an army, but before it could get there Pedro Navarro forced the Moors to raise the siege.²

Alonzo de Ojeda founds a town in Caribana which he named San Sebastian, and which was the first settlement of Spaniards on Tierra Firme of the Indies.³

Diego de Nicuesa, who soon after perished wretchedly, begins to settle Nombre de Dios.⁴

Pope Julius excommunicates the Venetians for usurping Ravenna and other lands of the States of the Church.⁵

The Pope grants to Maximilian the right to call himself crowned Emperor.⁶

League against the Venetians made at Cambray between Pope Julius, the Emperor Maximilian, King Ferdinand, King Louis of France, and other lords and states, because the Venetians held lands which had belonged to each of them.⁷

War between Maximilian and the Venetians about Cadore and Gorizia.⁸

A boat of osier containing eight men who ate raw flesh and drank blood like water, and spoke a language which could not be understood, runs aground near Dieppe.⁹

¹ P. Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, Epp. 333, 334. ² Bernáldez, cap. ccxviii.

³ In the gulf of Urabá, in 1509-10. Cf. Gómara's *Historia de las Indias* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* xxii. 189 ff.; Bourne, *Spain in America*, pp. 106 ff. On the designation 'Tierra Firme', cf. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, ii. 169.

⁴ Gómara, pp. 187-91; Bourne, pp. 107-8. Also in 1509-10. Nombre de Dios is near the present town of Aspinwall.

⁵ April 27, 1509. Cf. Burd, p. 133.

⁶ Feb. 4, 1508; Ulmann, ii. 339-40.

⁷ Dec. 10; Burd, pp. 131-2.

⁸ Ulmann, ii. 341 ff. B. M. MS. has 'sobre Cadora dusa y Goricia': 'dusa' I am unable to identify or translate.

⁹ Cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon et Continuatio*; Ed. Basle, 1529, f. 153. 'Septem homines sylvestres, etc.'

War of the Florentines against the Pisans, to subject them.¹

Insilbas moves on Khorassan with two hundred thousand men, and Ismail Sophy goes forth to meet him with a force of about equal size, but owing to the intercession of an Armenian bishop they did not fight.²

The Year 1509

Proclamation of the League of Cambray in the Iglesia Mayor at Valladolid, the Bishop of Palencia saying mass.³ The King swore to it for himself and for the Queen, his daughter, the nuncio Giovanni Ruffo, Bishop of Bertinoro,⁴ for the Pope, Mercurino de Gattinara for Prince Charles, the Sieur de Guise for the King of France, and the ambassadors of the Emperor Maximilian.

The capture of Oran by Cardinal Friar Francisco Ximenes.⁵

Queen Joanna enters Tordesillas, never to leave it.⁶

The Emperor Maximilian and King Ferdinand come to an agreement about the affairs of their grandson Charles.⁷

Queen Germaine brings forth in Valladolid a son who only lived one hour, and whose death was as great a grief to the realms of Aragon as its birth was glory.⁸

King Henry VII of England dies. Being desirous to wed Queen Joanna of Castile, he postponed for a long time the marriage of his son and of the Infanta Catharine, and even maltreated his daughter-in-law in order to force her grandfather to consent to what he desired.⁹

The Infanta Catharine finally marries her brother-in-law, Henry VIII, King of England, having a dispensation valid

¹ Burd, p. 131.

² Angiolello, pp. 110, 116.

³ Sandoval (i. 16) copies Gómara here.

⁴ Giovanni Ruffo, Bishop of Bertinoro, was afterwards Archbishop of Cosenza. Cf. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 674.

⁵ May 16. Zurita, Lib. VIII, cap. xxx; Bernáldez, cap. ccxix.

⁶ Feb. 14. Zurita, Lib. VIII, cap. xxix.

⁷ Ibid., caps. xlii, xlv, xlvii.

⁸ May 3. Sandoval, i. 14.

⁹ April 21. Busch, pp. 214-16. 'Grandfather' (*abuelo*) is of course a mistake for 'father'.

even in case her first marriage had been consummated, though they say that Arthur was impotent.¹

The prosecution of the supposed holy woman at Piedrahita takes place, which was a notable affair.

The University of Alcalá de Henares begins.²

Victory of King Louis of France for the allies, against the Venetians at Agnadello, which completely routed them.³ The King had fifteen thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, and the Venetians thirty-three thousand foot and ten thousand horse. According to the French accounts ten thousand were slain in the battle.

Pope Julius captures Modena and Mirandola, which Duke Alfonso of Ferrara held, by force of arms.⁴

The Emperor Maximilian besieges Padua, but was unable to take it.⁵

The Venetians restore Ravenna to Pope Julius.⁶ Juan Ponce de Leon begins to conquer Boriquen.⁷ War between the Venetians and the Duke of Ferrara.⁸

The bloody battle between Poles and Turks, the Christians being victorious.⁹

The Sophy captures Sermangoli,¹⁰ King of Sumacchia, in battle.¹⁰

¹ June 11. Busch, pp. 202 ff., 374 ff.

² On the exact date of the opening of the University cf. A. de la Torre y del Cerro, *La Universidad de Alcalá* in the *Revista de Archivos* for 1910, pp. 10-11.

³ May 14, 1509. Guicciardini, ii. 203.

⁴ This was in 1510 and 1511. Burd, pp. 136, 138.

⁵ Guicciardini, ii. 241. He raised the siege Oct. 3.

⁶ Burd, p. 134.

⁷ Or Porto Rico. Cf. Gómar's *Historia de las Indias* in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, vol. xxii, p. 180; also Bourne, pp. 133-4.

⁸ In 1510. Guicciardini, ii. 303, 321.

⁹ Probably referring to the battle on the Dniester, where the Crown Hetman Kamieniecki defeated Bogdan of Moldavia, whose force was composed of Turks and Tartars. Cf. Vapovius in *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. ii, pp. 86 ff.

¹⁰ Angiolello (p. 112) tells a somewhat different story. According to him, Sermangoli, whom Ismail had captured and set free on a former occasion (p. 104), took refuge in flight.

The Year 1510

The capture of Bugia and of Tripoli in Barbary.¹ The league of Cambray against the Venetians is renewed by the same allies as before, with the addition of Ladislaus, King of Hungary.²

Pope Julius abandons the league and aids the Venetians, who humbled themselves before him.³ This was the cause of many wars and evils.

The Pope wages war against the French in Genoa and in Milan in order that the one might be free and the other come under his suzerainty, but the Swiss abandon him, because of the bribes of King Louis.⁴

Francesco Maria de la Rovere, Duke of Urbino and nephew of Pope Julius, slays Cardinal Alidosi in Ravenna, because of the affair of Bologna.⁵ The Pope was angered by the murder of the Cardinal, although the latter had led an unchaste life.

Hatred develops between Pope Julius II and King Louis of France, which was the beginning of infinite evils. The Pope takes the side of the Venetians and the King supports the Duke of Ferrara in his wars.⁶

The Pope, in anger at the King of France, on account of the affairs of Ferrara and of Bologna, begs aid of the Princes of Christendom, and they grant it, especially the Catholic King.⁷

Pirates capture twenty-five Carmelite Friars returning to Sicily from the general Chapter which they had held at Rome.

¹ Bernáldez, caps. ccxxiii and ccxxiv; Zurita, Lib. IX, caps. i and xvi. Bugia fell Jan. 6, Tripoli, July 31.

² Ulmann, ii. 396-404.

³ Feb. 24. Burd, p. 135.

⁴ Ibid., p. 136. The Swiss allied themselves with the Pope in March, 1510 (Lavissee, vol. v, pt. i, p. 95), and did not abandon him till much later. Cf. Kohler, *Les Suisses dans les guerres d'Italie* in *Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, 2^{me} série, tome 4.

⁵ May 24, 1511. Burd, pp. 138-9.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 136-7.

⁷ Bernáldez, cap. ccxxvi; Sandoval, i. 18, 22.

The Year 1511

The Conquest of Cuba by Diego Velasquez de Cuéllar.¹

Alliance of King Ferdinand the Catholic and of the Venetians with the Pope, all three joining forces against the King of France.²

Session of the Council which certain Cardinals inaugurated against the Pope, headed by Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal, Bishop of Sigüenza, whom men called in jest Pope Andrew.³ The cause of this Council, if a reason must needs be given, was that when the Pope in consistory proposed to take Bologna by force of arms from Giovanni di Bentivoglio, Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal, as the senior, would not consent in the first place, and Cardinals Francesco Soderini, Federigo da San Severino, Antonio Gentile, Guillaume Briçonnet, and all who were at odds with the Pope or desired to get the Papacy, followed his counsel and advice. These men settled down as a Council at Pisa with the consent of Piero Soderini, who was in power at that time in Florence, and with the favour of the King of France, who sent Lautrec to support them with an army. The Pope induced three of these Cardinals to return to their obedience either by offers of reward or threats of excommunication; the other three went on to Milan, where they proclaimed a Council, saying that the Emperor and the King of Spain supported and approved of it. This angered the Catholic King, who begged the Pope to deprive them of their offices and benefices, which was done, and then the King appoints Fadrique of Portugal Bishop of Sigüenza. The three Cardinals took fright and betook themselves to France, where they persisted in their design of continuing their Council at Lyons.

¹ Cf. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* xxii. 185.

² Oct. 4. Burd, p. 141.

³ On this and the next paragraph cf. Zurita, *Lib. IX*, caps. xxii, xxx, xl, xliii; Carvajal, p. 332; Bernaldez, cap. ccxxvi; Burd, pp. 139-40; Sandret, *Le Concile de Pise* in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, xxxiv. 425 ff. Gómara omits Francisco Borgia, Cardinal of Cosenza, from the original list of schismatics.

The Pope asks, requires, and admonishes King Louis of France again and again, to show no favour to the insolent Council which these rebellious and excommunicated Cardinals were holding, and to lend no aid to the Duke of Ferrara, nor to Giovanni di Bentivoglio, nor to the other tyrants of the Church.

The Pope excommunicates the King of France and all those who favoured his cause and that of the rebel Cardinals, and declares them to be schismatics, and deprives them of their realms, states, and dignities.¹

Doctor William Caça brings this excommunication and sentence to Valladolid, where they are publicly read in the Iglesia Mayor on a holiday, at the end of the Gospel of the Mass.²

Open war of King Ferdinand the Catholic against the schismatics. He asks the support of his son-in-law, King Henry VIII of England; he makes peace with the Kings of Tunis and Tlemcen; he sends the Alcaide de los Donzeles to Fuenterrabía to deal with the affairs of Navarre, and commands Ramón de Cardona, viceroy of Naples, and Count Pedro Navarro with the soldiers of his fleet to join forces with Francisco Maria, Duke of Urbino, who lay near Bologna with the Papal army.³

The King of France takes counsel in Tours with his lawyers, theologians, and canonists, and decided that he was not obliged to obey a Papal excommunication which had been launched with an accompanying threat of military force, that the Pope could not lawfully wage war against another lord in lands not belonging to the States of the Church, that he had neither offended against the Faith nor the Church, nor provoked war against them, that he, the King, could wage war in his own defence against the Pope, his public and notorious enemy, as an individual, but that all the churches and towns of his kingdom must in the

¹ Lavissee, vol. 5, pt. i, p. 97.

² Nov. 16. Cf. Bernáldez, cap. ccxxvii; Sandoval, i. 22.

³ Zurita, Lib. IX, caps. xxxii, xxxiii, xxxviii. Sandoval (i. 22) copies Gómara here. 'Tunis' is probably a mistake for 'Tenés'; cf. above p. 21, n. 9.

meantime obey the Canon Law and the Pragmatic Sanction of the Council of Basel; and that he might defend his friends and allies against any other person, even if that other were Pope.

The King of France forbids his vassals to carry any money to Rome, in order that the Pope might not use it to make war on him.

Gaston de Foix, general-in-chief of the King of France, effects an entrance into Bologna by the power of his army; he also captures Brescia, Bergamo, and other places of the Pope and of the Venetians.²

Duke Charles of Guelders harries Brabant with the support of the King of France.³

The Emperor Maximilian takes the side of the Pope because the King of France aided the Duke of Guelders against him.⁴

A man who ate up a sheep or a calf at a single meal is presented to the Emperor Maximilian.⁵

Thomas Howard conquers and captures Andrew Barton, captain of the Scottish fleet, in a naval battle.⁶

Quarrels and wars between the Grand Turk Bayazid and his sons.⁷

The battle of Tchorlu between Selim and his father Bayazid.

Insilbas fights with the Sophy on an island in the River Efia near Khorassan, a great city, each one, so it is reported, having an army of two hundred thousand men. They arranged beforehand for the battle, which was the most cruel and bloody of our day and generation.⁸

¹ Lavissee, vol. v, pt. i, pp. 96-7. 'Basel' is probably a mistake for 'Bourges', though the Council's decrees were in close consonance with the Pragmatic. ² All this was in Jan.-Feb., 1512; Burd, pp. 141-2.

³ Henne, i. 278 ff.

⁴ Not till 1512. Cf. Ulmann, ii. 453-5.

⁵ Sandoval, i. 24.

⁶ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii. 340. The battle occurred Aug. 2 in the Downs. Barton was shot, not captured.

⁷ On this and the next paragraph cf. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 352-63; and Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii. 30. ff. The battle of Tchorlu or Tschorli, between Constantinople and Adrianople, was fought in July, 1512.

⁸ Angiolello, pp. 114-18; Jorga, ii. 254. This was in 1510.

The Sophy won by dint of his great strength. He sent the head of Insilbas to the Grand Turk, and that of Azebec, an excellent general, to the Soldan of Cairo—an act of barbarity. However, he left the realm to the sons of Insilbas under payment of some small tribute, on condition that they should wear red turbans and put off the green ones to which they were accustomed.¹

Francisco López, who wrote these Annals, and the Sea Fights of our time, and the History of the Indies with the Conquest of Mexico, and still has a mind to do some other little things, is born in Gómara² on Sunday morning, the day of the Purification of Our Lady, which they call Candlemas.³ Since he has worked so hard, he deserves to enjoy the fruit of his labours in company with many good men.

The Year 1512

The monster which was brought forth by a nun in Ravenna, and which, according to reports, was male and female, had a horn on its head, and a cross on its breast, and wings instead of arms, and a single foot, and an eye in its knee.⁴

The pitched battle of Ravenna, which the French won, because the Spaniards did not fight their hardest. Our men were defeated, but despite that fact they slew their enemies. Sixteen thousand men in all perished—two-thirds of the French army; and forty generals on both sides, and also Gaston de Foix, brother of Queen Germaine, whose death made the day famous, and who (if there be truth in the stories of soldiers) had seventy pieces of artillery, two thousand men-at-arms, four thousand light cavalry, and twenty-five thousand foot. In the Papal army with the Duke of Urbino there were twenty-four bronze cannon, and twenty-three thousand infantry (twelve thousand of them Spaniards), a thousand troopers, a thousand light

¹ 'Azebec' is doubtless the same as 'Usbec' in Angiolello, p. 117; *q.v.*

² About ten miles south-east of Soria.

³ Feb. 2.

⁴ Bernáldez, cap. ccxxviii. Sandoval (i. 26) again plagiarizes from Gómara.

cavalry, eight hundred Spanish and the same number of Italian men-at-arms.¹

Ambassadors from Abdalla, King of Tlemcen, who acknowledged himself tributary of the King of Castile, come to Burgos with the Alcaide de los Donzeles. They brought to King Ferdinand the tribute-money, twenty-two horses, a tame lion's whelp, a fowl of molten gold, and thirty-six chickens of the same, and many Moorish things, and a pretty little maid of royal blood, and one hundred and thirty Christian captives.²

Duarte de Menezes, Alcaide of Tangiers, with one hundred and seventy horse and three hundred foot, attacks the King of Fez, who had come with three thousand Moorish infantry, and seven hundred troopers to fire his crops. In the battle and pursuit he captured two hundred and twenty-five, and slew twice that number.³

Agreement of King John of Navarre with the King of France, who granted him Béarn in return for his promise to fall out with King Ferdinand and to prevent the latter from entering his kingdom of Guyenne, where the English were already face to face with him.⁴

Fadrique de Toledo, Duke of Alva, and General-in-Chief, seizes the kingdom of Navarre and enters Pamplona with six thousand soldiers, one thousand men-at-arms, and fifteen hundred troopers.⁵

King John besieges Pamplona for twenty-six days, and the Duke of Alva, Hernando de Vega, Antonio de Fonseca, and many other Castilian knights defended it and held out bravely.

¹ April 11. Bibliography in Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, iii, p. 703, n. 4. The number of slain is given by Jovius and Moncenigo as 20,000; by Guicciardini as 10,000.

² Bernáldez, caps. ccxxix-ccxxx. Sandoval (i. 26) again copies Gómara.

³ Bernáldez, cap. ccxxxiii. Gómara's account is clearly taken from Bernáldez.

⁴ Boissonnade, *Réunion de la Navarre à la Castille*, pp. 311-12.

⁵ On this and the next three paragraphs cf. Zurita, Lib. X, caps. xxix-xliii; Bernáldez, caps. ccxxxv-ccxxxvii; Carvajal, pp. 327-33; Boissonnade, p. 325.

The King goes to Logroño, and sends aid thence to Pamplona by the Duke of Nájera, in fear of whom King John raised the siege and abandoned the French artillery. I have heard it said that the King wept for joy together with Antonio de Fonseca, who brought him the news, such importance did he attach to the conquest of Navarre.

The Dauphin Francis and the Duke of Bourbon-Montpensier besiege San Sebastian, but the inhabitants repulsed them with loss.

Diego Hernández de Córdova, Marquis of Comares, whom they called the Alcaide de los Donzeles, remains as viceroy of Navarre, and after him Antonio Manrique, Duke of Nájera, and after him Francisco Zúñiga, Count of Miranda, and Martin de Córdova, Count of Alcaudete, and Martin de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Luis Hurtado, Marquis of Mondéjar, and Juan de Vega, Marquis of Gragal, and Pedro de Mendoza, Count of Castro, and . . . de Cárdenas, Duke of Maqueda, and Beltran de la Cueva, Duke of Alburquerque.

Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, attempts to flee to France from Logroño. Therefore, though he had hitherto gone about the court freely, he is now taken captive to Játiva, where Mosen Juan detains him in custody.¹

The Council of Saint John Lateran begins at Rome.²

Pascal, Bishop of Burgos, a truly Christian man, dies while attending the Council, and is buried in the Monastery of Santa Maria sopra Minerva³ at Rome.

Revolt against the Sophy by the sons of Insilbas, who put off their red turbans at the advice of a wretched Tartar who belonged to the white turban faction.⁴

Bayazid II dies, after a reign of thirty-one years and a life of seventy-four, as a result of poison administered at the command of Selim, his younger brother, by Hamon Ustaraba, a Jewish doctor.⁵ He had great trouble with his

¹ Zurita, Lib. X, cap. xxxviii.

² May 3.

³ July 19. Carvajal, pp. 329-30. 'Moreria' in the text is clearly a mistake for 'Minerva'. The B.M. MS. makes the same error.

⁴ Angiolello, pp. 117-18.

⁵ April 23. Bayazid was sixty-five years old, not seventy-four. Cf. Jovius, i. 353; Hammer, ii. 366-75; Jorga, ii. 313-14. I am unable to

brothers in order to hold his throne, and still more with his sons, of whom he had seven, and each one of whom desired to have the kingdom. He spent annually infinite sums on them, for he kept them in the provinces; but the eldest one got half the money. Save for them he was very fortunate, winning all his battles but one, when he was conquered by the Mamelukes. He was, moreover, very rich, for he had ten millions in money shortly before his abdication, a sum which no other king of this day and generation has possessed; though Selim did not find more than one million when he searched for this treasure, and it is said that the servants made away with a great deal. Bayazid was much given to the study of philosophy and of the Koran, and it was because of this and of his great age that he left the Empire to Selim, which angered the other sons and shortened his own life. At the beginning of his reign Selim put forth an ordinance about the clothes of his soldiers, saying that because they were so rich they spurred on their adversaries to fight eagerly against them.

The Year 1513

Secret truce between Kings Louis and Ferdinand, which greatly annoyed the Kings of England and of Navarre.¹ The Pope and the Emperor Maximilian conclude a new alliance against King Louis of France.² Through the efforts of Mercurino Gattinara, Maximilian and Ferdinand come to an agreement about the regency for their grandson Charles, and his affairs.³

The fortress at Oran and the Peñon of Algiers are constructed. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa discovers the Southern Sea, after having first waged many wars against the Indians

explain 'Sahac' in the original Spanish text, unless it be a misreading of the Turkish epithet 'Jauf' or 'Sharp', sometimes applied to Selim; cf. Hammer, ii. 376.

¹ Truce of Orthez, April 1. Cf. Boissonade, pp. 415 ff.

² Probably meaning the treaty of Mechlin of April 5. Cf. Burd, p. 147.

³ Cf. Walther, *Anfänge Karls V.*, pp. 116 ff.

in this year and in the past.¹ This was an event for which Castile deeply longed.

James of Braganza, with the fleet of King Manuel, conquers the Moors at Azamor.² The Pope reorganizes his army after the battle which he lost at Ravenna, and drives the French out of Italy with it.³

The Pope reinstates the Medici in Florence by force, in revenge for the support which the inhabitants of that city had given to the Council of Pisa; but he commanded his army to withdraw.⁴

Pope Julius II, who was a native of Savona, dies after a pontificate of ten years, of whom it has been said that he was a bad Pope, but a good man.⁵ He was a great friend of King Ferdinand, because the latter always supported him, and therefore gave him the investitures of the kingdoms of Naples and of Navarre. He died happy in having expelled the French from Italy, in having recovered Bologna, and in having reinstated the Medici in Florence.

Election of Pope Leo X at the age of forty years.⁶ Alliance, which was termed perpetual, between France and Venice against the Duke of Milan.⁷

Pope Leo supports Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan.

The battle of Novara in which Maximilian Sforza conquered the French, whose general was Louis de la Trémouille.⁸

The Venetian army, led by Bartolommeo de Alviano, suffers greatly near Cremona and Verona. Octaviano Fregoso frees Genoa from the power of the French, with

¹ Sept. 25. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 193 ff.; Bourne, pp. 109-11.

² *Ibid.* 29-30. Zurita, *Lib. X*, cap. lxxix; Marmol, *Histoire des Gbérifs*, cap. vii.

³ This was in 1512; cf. Burd, p. 142.

⁴ In Sept. 1512. Cf. J. Nardi, *Istorie di Firenze*, *Lib. VI*. The last clause of the text is untranslatable, but the general meaning seems to be clear. The BM. MS. has 'sangirto su exercito apartó'.

⁵ Feb. 20. Cf. Bernáldez, cap. ccxxxviii.

⁶ March 10-11. *Ibid.*, cap. ccxxxix. He was thirty-eight not forty years old.

⁷ March 23. Cf. Burd, p. 147 and *n*.

⁸ June 6. Guicciardini, iii. 67 ff.

the aid of the Pope and the Spaniards led by the Marquis of Pescara.¹

Alliance of the Emperor Maximilian and of King Ferdinand and of King Henry of England against King Louis of France.²

The King of England, with the aid of the Emperor Maximilian, who was paid for it, makes war on the King of France in Picardy.³

Battle between the English and the Scots, who fought for the love of the King of France, at Flodden. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was victorious, and King James IV of Scotland, with many nobles of his realm, was slain. The King was recognized among the dead by a girdle of iron which he wore next to his flesh, in penance for having murdered his father in order to gain the throne.⁴

The battle of Théroutanne, known as the Battle of the Spurs, because the French used their spurs so much in order to flee the quicker.⁵ The English won, and Francis, Duke of Longueville, the Commander-in-chief of the French, and the famous leader, Bayard, were captured.

Prospero Colonna and Ramón de Cardona bombard Venice from Marghera. More insult than injury resulted, though they caused great fear in the city.⁶

King Henry VIII of England captures Théroutanne by siege and Tournay by treaty,⁷ the Emperor Maximilian being with him.

The English and French fleets fight with one another. At the first encounter Prégent of Guyenne,⁸ who had come

¹ Zurita, Lib. X, cap. lxxi ; Jovius, i. 390-1.

² Probably refers to the treaty of Mechlin of April 5. Cf. *ante*, paragraph 1 of this same year.

³ Henry crossed to France June 30: in the ensuing campaign 14,000 Germans served in his pay. Cf. Ulmann, ii. 466 ff. ; Fisher, *Political History of England, 1485-1547*, p. 181.

⁴ Sept. 9. Gómara closely follows the account in Bernáldez, cap. ccxlv. On Flodden cf. Fisher, pp. 186 ff., and notes to p. 189.

⁵ Guinegatte, Aug. 16. Fisher, pp. 182-3.

⁶ Guicciardini, iii. 89.

⁷ Aug. 22 and Sept. 24. Cf. Fisher, pp. 183-4.

⁸ Prégent de Bidoux, knight of Rhodes, French Admiral in the Mediterranean.

on from the Strait of Gibraltar with his galleys, lost his eye. The second battle occurred near Brest, and was very terrible and dangerous because of the fire.¹

The famous battle of Vicenza near l'Olmo, between Ramón de Cardona and Prospero Colonna, on the one side, and Bartolommeo de Alviano, Commander-in-chief of the Venetians, on the other.² The latter had a great advantage in numbers and position.

The former had thirty-five hundred Germans, and as many as four thousand Spaniards, led by the Marquis of Pescara, and one thousand men-at-arms (seven hundred of them Spaniards), six hundred troopers led by Pedro de Castro, a famous general, and a squadron of light cavalry under Captain Succaro, and eighteen cannon. Our men won by superior strength and knowledge. They slew five thousand men, according to some accounts, and twenty-five officers. They captured twenty-four cannon, and all the banners. The victory was notable, as our men were the fewer, and few were killed, and also because Bartolommeo de Alviano had boasted and said that he regarded them as cattle in a fold.³

Milan and all the state of Duke Maximilian are seized by our army under Prospero Colonna. The Swiss fight at Dijon in Burgundy, taking the side of the Pope and of the Emperor, but they abandon the siege because of the promises of the King of France, who solemnly binds himself by writing and by oath to many things, among them to give them four thousand crowns in gold, to return to his obedience to the Pope, to restore Burgundy at once to Prince Charles, to withdraw all his troops from Italy, and never more to go to Lombardy—though he did not keep his word.⁴ Pope Leo X restores Cardinals Carvajal and San Severino to their cardinalates and bishoprics with

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i. 3877, 4005; Fisher, pp. 179-80.

² Oct. 7. Burd, p. 147; Guicciardini, iii. 92-3; Jovius, i. 261 ff. Gómara's account is probably taken from Jovius.

³ Guicciardini, iii. 90-4; Jovius, i. 261 ff.

⁴ Lavissee, vol. v, pt. i, p. 114; Martin, *Hist. de France*, vii. 424-5.

the consent of King Ferdinand, because they had repented.¹

Plague at Constantinople, which they say carried off one hundred and fifty thousand persons.²

Selim, the Grand Turk, strangles his brother, Ahmed, after having conquered him in battle near Brusa.

Vasili, King of Muscovy, captures Smolensk.³ War of the Turks in Anatolia against Techelles, a new expounder of the Koran.⁴

Cardinal Pietro Bembo finishes his history.⁵

The Year 1514

The war against the French continues in Italy. The King of France assembles an army against the King of England, but did not fight.

The Genoese, in their hatred of the French, raze to the ground their own Lantern, an impregnable fortress.⁶

Peace between the Kings of England and France arranged by the Duke of Longueville, who was a prisoner at the time.⁷

King Louis of France, at the age of fifty-five years, in order to gain peace, and recover Théroutanne and Tournay, marries Mary, sister of King Henry VIII, who was promised to Charles, Prince of Castile.⁸

Thomas, Cardinal of Gran, preaches a crusade against the Turks in Hungary and Bohemia, for which purpose a great many more men assembled than the Cardinal and King Ladislaus desired, and therefore they commanded that all of them should not shoulder the cross.⁹

George Dózsa rises in revolt with many of the crusaders,

¹ Bernáldez, cap. ccxli.

² Jovius, i. 357-9; Jorga, ii. 314-15.

³ Smolensk fell in the summer of 1514.

⁴ Cf. Jorga, ii. 327 ff.

⁵ The *Istoria Veneziana*, published in 1552, ends with the year 1513.

⁶ Guicciardini, iii. 126.

⁷ July 10. Cf. Fisher, p. 191.

⁸ Oct. 9. The 'Blanca' of the original text is of course a mistake.

⁹ Jovius, i. 295 ff.

robbing and slaying those who oppose him, and especially the nobles; this put the King and kingdom up in arms.¹

John Bornemisza, the royal general, conquers Lucacho, brother of George Dózsa, near Buda Pesth.²

John the Voivode, moreover, captures in battle George Dózsa, who already had begun to call himself King, and his brother, Lucacho.³

The cruel though just death in Temesvar of the false king of Hungary, George Dózsa, whom they crowned with red-hot iron; pierced many of his veins, and gave his blood to drink, first to Lucacho, and afterwards to twenty captains, who not only sucked his wounds, but also bit his flesh, for they had been starved for three days. This caused him to suffer so much that he did not even groan when they roasted him and cooked him and gave his flesh to his soldiers to eat.⁴

The battle near the river Borysthenes, in which Constantin Ostrojski, the general of King Sigismund of Poland, conquered King Vasili, slaying eight thousand of the forty thousand Muscovite cavalry.⁵ Constantin had forty thousand men-at-arms, and little more than three thousand infantry, most of them arquebusiers, who effected the slaughter and won the victory.⁶

The same Constantin besieges Smolensk in vain. Selim, summoned by the Kurds, or Persian chiefs of the opposite sect to that of Sheikh Haidar, goes to attack the Sophy, having first renewed his treaties with the Hungarians, Poles, and Venetians.⁷

The very famous battle on the plain of Tchaldiran between the Sophy, with only thirty thousand horse, and Selim, who had two hundred thousand soldiers, of whom eighty thousand were cavalry. The Sophy was defeated

¹ Jovius, i. 296-7; Huber, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, iii. 438 ff. Dózsa was a Székler; hence the name 'Sequel' in the Spanish text.

² Ibid. iii. 440.

³ Jovius, i. 298-300; Huber, iii. 440.

⁴ Jovius, i. 301; Huber, iii. 440-1. Gómara's account was doubtless taken from Jovius. 'Transdutripa' in the text is doubtless a mistake for 'Temesvar'.

⁵ Battle of Orcha, on the Dnieper, Sept. 8. Cf. Jovius, i. 308-11.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Jovius, i. 361 ff.; Angiolello, pp. 118-19.

(and it is said to have been the first reverse of fortune that he had experienced) on account of the Turkish artillery, which frightened the Persian horses with its loud reports.¹

Selim slays Carbec Sampri, an excellent general of the Sophy, because on Selim's proclaiming what manner of man he was to fight against and that he had God on his side, Carbec Sampri replied, 'If God were with thee, thou wouldest not come to usurp foreign lands.'²

Selim enters Tabriz, but soon after leaves it, because he was afraid to remain, and in want of supplies; and he carried off with him three hundred noble and lovely damsels, together with great riches.³ It was there that he began to sit in a chair, contrary to the Ottoman custom, saying that he had gone one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the spot which his grandfather Mohammed had reached.

And in truth he had gone a great distance and had fought well, and certainly returned with great glory to Constantinople, save that he lost one hundred thousand men in that expedition.

After this unlucky battle the Sophy, after retiring to Tasnula, made an alliance with the Soldan Kansu and Aladola, and another black king who was afraid of the Turks.⁴

The Year 1515

Louis XII, King of France, dies⁵ without male children, although he married three wives. He forsook the first one, who was barren, in order to get Brittany through the second, though the latter was married⁶ to the Emperor Maximilian. He was very niggardly, cared little for re-

¹ Aug. 23. Angiolello, pp. 118-20; Jovius, i. 366-7, 369-70; Jorga, ii. 330. Gómara follows Jovius closely.

² Angiolello, pp. 120-1. Gómara follows his account here.

³ Jovius, i. 370-1; Angiolello, p. 121.

⁴ Ibid. I am unable to identify 'Tasnula'. Angiolello says that Ismail retired to Casibi or Casveen.

⁵ In the night of Dec. 31, 1514—Jan. 1, 1515.

⁶ By proxy only.

ligion, sacrificed honour to gain, and was a cruel and revengeful warrior. He captured Milan, Genoa, and Naples, conquered the Venetians by means of his allies in the League of Cambray, and the Pope and his allies by his own resources. But on account of his want of Christianity he lost all he had won, and was excommunicated, and had to fight in his own realm against the English and the Swiss, with whom he made dishonest treaties which he dishonestly renounced. Those who made alliances with him fared ill, for this was the occasion of King John's losing Navarre, of King James of Scotland's being overcome, and of Florence's beginning to be deprived of her freedom. He was jealous of no one save the Catholic King, whom he could neither conquer in battle, nor cheat by double dealing in diplomacy.

Prince Charles begins to govern in Flanders.¹ A French army enters Navarre, but it is immediately expelled by a Castilian one.²

Navarre is incorporated in Castile by decision of the Cortes held in Burgos, and by the authority of the Pope and Cardinals.³

Friendly peace between Francis, King of France, and the Prince and Archduke Charles, arranged in Paris by Henry, Count of Nassau, in the which it was stipulated that Charles should marry Renée, sister of Queen Claudia, who also had been promised him as his bride in years gone by.⁴

Gaspar de Morales discovers many pearls in Tararequi.⁵ An infinite number of them have been brought to Spain from that island and from Cuba, which Christopher Columbus discovered.

The Portuguese fleet is lost near Azamor, where eighty caravels ran aground and the Moors slew and captured about three thousand men.

¹ Walther, *Anfänge Karls V.*, p. 133.

² In 1514. Cf. Boissonnade, p. 431.

³ Ibid., pp. 440 ff.

⁴ Mar. 24. Walther, pp. 142-3; Henne, ii. 119 ff.

⁵ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 197, 279. Tararequi is the Pearl Islands in the Gulf of San Miguel.

Kings Henry and Francis make friends.¹ Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, begs for the support of Pope Leo, of the Emperor, and of the Swiss, in order to be able to resist King Francis.²

King Francis, summoned by the Venetians and the Genoëse, passes into Italy with a great flourish of trumpets in order to capture Milan. Battle and victory of King Francis over the Swiss at Marignano.³ The former had a multitude of soldiers, with eight thousand light cavalry and four thousand French men-at-arms, and the latter over thirty thousand infantry, among whom there were Italians and some Spaniards. King Francis captures Milan and sends Duke Maximilian a prisoner to France.

Interview of Pope Leo and King Francis at Bologna. The latter obtained there the right to collect funds for a crusade, and the right to appoint bishops and abbots in France, and even claimed the title and crown of Emperor of Constantinople.⁴

Alliance against King Francis between the Emperor Maximilian, King Ferdinand, Henry, King of England, and the Swiss.⁵

Interview of the Emperor Maximilian and of the royal brothers, Ladislaus of Hungary and Sigismund of Poland, in Vienna, with a great concourse of knights and ambassadors from many places. It was there agreed that Sigismund should marry Bona, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, and that Louis, son of Ladislaus, should wed Maria, the Infanta of Castile, and that either the Infante Ferdinand or Prince Charles should marry Anna, the daughter of the same King Ladislaus.⁶

¹ April 5. Lavissee, V. i. 118.

² Zurita, Lib. X, cap. xci.

³ Sept. 13-14. Cf. Jovius, i. 390, 416 ff.; Mignet, *Rivalité de François I^{er} et Charles-Quint*, i. 83-94.

⁴ Francis met the Pope at Bologna, Dec. 11. Cf. J. Thomas, *Le Concordat de 1516*, vol. i; also Lavissee, vol. v, pt. i, pp. 125-6, 252 ff. The statement about Francis's claim to the title of Emperor of Constantinople is probably merely an exaggerated account of the crusading projects that were discussed. Cf. Ursu, *Politique Orientale de François I^{er}*, pp. 7-9.

⁵ Mignet, i. 101-3.

⁶ The treaty was signed July 22. Cf. Jovius, i. 442-3; Ulmann, ii. 549 ff.

The Emperor Maximilian enters Italy with an army and hovers about Milan without accomplishing anything.¹

The Swiss enter Dauphiné, near Briançon, in much the same fashion.

Petty wars between the Hungarians and Turks under Junis Pasha.²

War between Poles and Muscovites.

Ladislaus, King of Hungary, who was a very pious Christian, dies.³

Selim conquers Aladola, King of Cappadocia, in a very bloody battle in Malatia. After carrying the King's head about, exhibiting it in all those parts, he sent it to Venice, which was the gift of a barbarian.⁴

The Year 1516

King Ferdinand the Catholic, the fifth of his name in Castile and the second in Aragon, dies in Madrigalejo.⁵ His virtues were great, though he was not without his vices. His chroniclers were Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli of Mantua, Alonzo de Palencia, Antonio de Lebrija, Peter Martyr of Milan, Bernardino Gentile of Sicily, Hernando del Pulgar, Tristán de Silva, Pedro de Gracia Dei of Galicia, Hernando de Ribera, and Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal. Andrés Bernáldez, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, and others also wrote something, but the best of all is the work which Jerónimo Zurita is writing, and which he calls the History of the Deeds of King Ferdinand the Catholic.⁶ Cardinal Friar

¹ March, 1516. Cf. Mignet, i. 103.

² Jorga, ii. 322.

³ March 13, 1516.

⁴ Angiolello, p. 123; Jovius, i. 466-7.

⁵ Jan. 23. Zurita, Lib. X, cap. xcix.

⁶ Of these writers, Lebrija, Peter Martyr, Pulgar, Carvajal, Bernáldez, Oviedo, and Zurita are all well known. Accounts of them and of their writings may be found in Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*, in Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, and in the standard histories of Spanish literature. Of the others, Battista Spagnuoli (1444-1516) wrote *Ad divam Helisabet . . . Hispaniarum Reginam Epodon*; Alonzo de Palencia (or, more accurately, Alfonso Hernández de Madrid, called Palentino, 1474-1559) wrote *Memorial de los tiempos*: cf. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* i. 23; Tristán de Silva wrote *Historia de la Conquista de Granada*: cf. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* ii. 319; Pedro de Gracia Dei wrote a *Historia*: cf.

Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, and Adrian Floris, Dean of Louvain, vie with one another for the control of the government.¹ The latter had come to manage the realm and take possession of it for Prince Charles.

Cardinal Friar Francisco Ximenes, as regent, trains peasants as soldiers, giving them arms and military practice, which some people disapproved of, and he even wanted to issue a new coinage, and take from many their rights to the salt mines and alcabalas, which angered them still more.²

Uprising of Pedro Portocarrero in Llerena in order to seize the grand-mastership of Santiago.³

The uprising in Arevalo of the Contador Mayor Juan Velasquez against Queen Germaine.⁴

Battle of Noain between our men and the French.⁵

Another battle between Colonel Hernando de Villalva de Plasencia and the Marshal Pedro de Navarra, who afterwards committed suicide.⁶

Renewed treaty between Charles, the new King of Spain, and Francis, King of France, which was favourable to King Francis, so that he afterwards excused himself and his evil practices by harking back to it. It stipulated, among other things, that Charles should satisfy Henri d'Albret in regard to Navarre (whose king the latter styled himself) in such

Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* ii. 199; and Hernando de Ribera wrote *Guerra de Granada que hicieron los Reyes Católicos*: cf. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* i. 388. None of the works of Bernardo or Bernardino Gentile of Sicily is apparently extant. He was a Dominican Friar, and lived and taught in Spain in the sixteenth century. He was famous as a witty poet, and endeavoured to extol the deeds of the Great Captain in heroic verse. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (*Historia de las Indias*, Lib. XXXIV, cap. iii) tells us that he was royal historiographer to Ferdinand, and wrote about American affairs. The letters of his compatriot Lucio Marineo Siculo also mention him. Cf. J. B. Muñoz, *Historia del Nuevo-Mundo* (Madrid, 1793), p. 20. Further information about many of these writers may be found in E. Fueter's *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*; Munich, 1911.

¹ Prescott, iii. 383 ff.

² Ibid., p. 386; Carvajal, pp. 380 ff.; Sandoval, i. 69.

³ Carvajal, p. 357; Sandoval, i. 46.

⁴ Carvajal, p. 384; Sandoval, i. 62.

⁵ This may refer to the battle of Roncal (not far from Noain or Non), fought March 16-18 between the Maréchal de Navarre and Villalva (cf. Boissonnade, 462), but I am by no means certain.

⁶ Sandoval, i. 58.

a manner as arbitrating judges which both appointed should decide: and that Charles should marry Louise, the little daughter of Francis, and in case she should die, that he should marry some future daughter of King Francis as yet unborn (a stipulation such as had never been made before), or if both these plans failed, that Charles should wed Renée, who afterwards was Duchess of Ferrara, according to the agreement of the year before.¹ In view of these marriages King Francis renounced his claims to Naples for an annual pension of one hundred thousand crowns, which he immediately collects.

In Spain the treaties of Noyon are much disliked because of the arrangement about Navarre and the hundred thousand crowns pension.²

King Francis tries to induce King Charles to attack the King of England, although he was in league with him at the time.³

The very auspicious birth of Mary, Princess of Wales, who brought England back to Christianity.⁴

Arudj Barbarossa makes himself King of Algiers.⁵

The defeat of Diego de Vera at Algiers.⁶

King Charles wages war in Frisia with Spanish troops.⁷

The terrible siege of Brescia, which was defended by Spaniards under the Knight Commander Icart and assaulted by Gascons and Navarrese under Count Pedro Navarro.⁸

The siege of Verona, which was likewise terrible, though the Emperor Maximilian abandoned the town to the Venetians, in accordance with the treaty of Noyon, in return for two hundred thousand crowns.⁹ Therewith terminated his wars in Italy.

¹ Aug. 13. Treaty of Noyon, Mignet, i. 171. ² Sandoval, i. 72.

³ On the policy of this period cf. Walther, pp. 174 ff. ⁴ Feb. 18.

⁵ Sandoval, i. 69 ff.; Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, in *Memorial Historico Español*, vi. 365 ff.

⁶ Sandoval, i. 63; Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, *ibid.*, pp. 369 ff.

⁷ Henne, ii. 137 ff.; 185 ff. I find no evidence elsewhere that Spanish troops were used.

⁸ Guicciardini, iii. 176-7. On Icart cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii. 1989.

⁹ Guicciardini, ii. 200 ff.

The men of Guelders lay waste the country as far as Holland.¹

Perpetual alliance of the Swiss and King Francis, who paid them a pension.² This has strengthened the French, and gained the Swiss a great reputation.

The terrible battle at Aleppo between Selim and Kansu, Soldan of Egypt, in which thirteen thousand Janizaries conquered fourteen thousand Mamelukes, who were held at that time to be the best soldiers in Asia, though the victory was brought about, as it appears, by the treachery of Kahir, Lord of Aleppo.³ There was such a clamour and din of arms and men that all the birds and beasts who dwelt in that plain fled away, and many men even became deaf for life. One hundred thousand combatants died on both sides, according to the accounts. Selim, who was rescued, and Kansu who perished, both fell. The men who showed the greatest strength and skill on that occasion were Sinan Pasha and Jambardo, whom others call the Gazelle.

Selim entered Damascus, where he had to answer twenty-two nations, each in its own tongue.⁴

Another gallant fight at Carici, near Gaza, between Algazeli with six thousand men, and Sinan Pasha with over ten thousand; neither side being victorious,⁵ because night put an end to the conflict. Algazeli abandoned his baggage in order to carry off the wounded so as to prevent them from saying that they had been vanquished, and Sinan cut off the heads of the dead Mamelukes and hung them up by their beards, which they wore very long, in order that Selim might see them.

¹ Henne, ii. 189 ff.

² Nov. 29, 1516. Peace of Freiburg.

³ Aug. 24. Cf. Angiolello, 124-7: Jovius, i. 483 ff.; Jorga, ii. 336-8. The number of the slain, 100,000 (*cien mil*), is doubtless a mistake for 1,000 (*cerca mil*). Cf. Hammer, ii. 474-5. On Jambardo the Gazelle, or Algazeli, cf. below, p. 53, n. 1.

⁴ Jovius, i. 484-5: Angiolello (pp. 126-7) says 'there were people speaking seventy-two different languages in the city'.

⁵ Angiolello, pp. 127 ff.; Jovius, i. 487 ff.

Selim visits the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ, and gives alms, very piously, to friars and pilgrims.¹

Death of Gonsalvo Hernández de Córdoba, the Great Captain, concerning whom many have written.²

The Year 1517

The Dukes of Alva and Béjar fight concerning the Priory of St. John, the latter represented by his brother, Antonio de Zúñiga, and the former by his son Diego de Toledo.³

Queen Maria of Portugal dies.

Louise of France, who was to have married King Charles, dies also.⁴

Charles comes by sea from Flanders to Spain to take up the reins of government, and the representatives of the nation swear to him in Valladolid as King of Castile.⁵

Charles inherits these realms of Spain, because of the deaths in infancy of Prince Miguel, and of the son whom Queen Germaine bore, which was good fortune.

It was also a notable fact that all these realms should come to him, wherefore I have thought it good to relate, with the brevity which summaries demand, how so many and such different kingdoms were united together.⁶

The first count of Hapsburg, then a little state in Germany, was Otbert, a famous knight, from whom Charles is directly descended in the male line. For Otbert was son of Sigisbert, and grandson of Theodobert, and great-grandson of Childebert, and great-great-grandson of Sigisbert,

¹ Angiolello, pp. 130-1.

² Sept. 2. Cf. *Crónicas del Gran Capitán*, in vol. x of *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*.

³ Carvajal, pp. 391 ff.; Sandoval, vol. i, p. 73.

⁴ In September, 1518. Cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. ii, pt. ii, No. 4460.

⁵ Sailed Sept. 7, landed Sept. 20. The Cortes met Feb. 2, 1518. Cf. Vandenesse, *Voyages de Charles-Quint, 1514-1551*, Ed. Gachard, in *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*, vol. ii, pp. 58-9.

⁶ On the genealogies in the following paragraphs cf. Preface to vol. i of Sandoval; Zurita, Lib. I, caps. iv-xx; Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, ii, 16-21, 41, 160, 365; iii. 15, 494, 515-16.

and great-great-great-grandson of King Clothaire, who was son of Clovis, the first Christian King of France, and Clovis was son of Childeric and grandson of Mérovée, and great-grandson of Clodion and great-great-grandson of Pharamond, Count of Franconia, who was also the first King of France a little more than six hundred years after the birth of Christ,¹ and whose family was already at that time great and powerful.

The successors of Otbert, first count of Hapsburg, continue as follows from father to son : Bebo, Robert, Amprinto Gontram, Luthardo, Werner, Rapoto, Berengario, Otho, Werner, Albert, Albert II, the Emperor Rudolf, Albert III, who was first Duke of Austria and Emperor, Albert who was the second Duke and Count of Tyrol and Carinthia, Leopold, Ernest, Albert, the Emperor Frederick who styled himself Archduke, the Emperor Maximilian, who was Duke of Burgundy and Count of Flanders in right of his wife, Philip, who by right of his wife became King of Castile, and Charles, who inherited it all.

The Dukes of Burgundy, whom I intend to mention, were few, but very distinguished, for there is no occasion for going further back. Philip the Bold, son of the King of France, obtained, through his wife Margaret, the Duchy of Burgundy and the county of Flanders and other states. From Philip they went to his son John, from John to his son Philip, from Philip to his son Charles, whose daughter was Mary, who married the Emperor Maximilian and became the mother of Philip, the father of our Charles.

The first Count of Flanders who held that state with Judith his wife, daughter of King Charles the Bald, was Baldwin, and after him followed Baldwin II, Arnulf the Great, Baldwin III, Arnulf II, Baldwin IV, Baldwin V, Baldwin VI, Arnulf III the Unfortunate, Robert of Frisia, Robert II, Baldwin VII of the Battle-axe, Charles the Good, William his brother, Theodoric of Alsace, Philip of Alsace, Margaret, Baldwin the Emperor of Constantinople, Jañe, Margaret, Guy, Robert, Louis de Crécy, Louis de Male,

¹ Pharamond ceased to reign in 427.

Margaret, John, Philip the Good, Charles, Margaret¹ together with the Emperor Maximilian, Philip King of Castile, and Charles.

The county of Barcelona also came to be inherited by the Kings of Aragon through a woman. Its kings were called Jaufred² the First, Jaufred II, Jofré Miron, Jaufred III, Borrel, Ramón V, who became King of Aragon through his wife Petronilla.

The Kings of Sobrarbe and of Aragon were Garci Ximenes, Garci Iñiguez, Iñigo Arista, Garci Iñiguez, Sancho Garcia, Garci Sanchez, Sancho II, Ramiro, Sancho III, Pedro, Alfonso, Ramiro II, Ramón through Petronilla, and Petronilla with Ramón, Count of Barcelona, Alfonso II, Pedro II, James who conquered Mallorca, Minorca, and Iviza, Pedro III who had Sicily in right of his wife Constance, daughter of Manfred, Alfonso III, James II who also was King of Sardinia, Alfonso IV, Pedro IV, John who acquired Sicily, Martin, Ferdinand by election, Alfonso V, John II, Ferdinand II who also became King of Castile through Queen Isabella, Charles. The Kings of Castile and Leon, which have always descended through fathers, sons, or sons-in-law, to sons or to daughters, for which cause their distinction is very great, are the following: Pelayo, Favila, Exmisenda with Alfonso her husband, Mauregato,³ Bermudo, Alfonso II, Ramiro, Ordoño, Alfonso III, Garcia, Ordoño II, Fruela II, Alfonso IV, Ramiro II, Ordoño IV,⁴ Sancho, Ramiro III, Bermudo II, Alfonso V, Bermudo III, Sancha together with Ferdinand her husband, Sancho with Elvira, Alfonso VI, Urraca with Alfonso King of Aragon,⁵ Berengaria with Alfonso, Ferdinand III, Alfonso X, Sancho IV, Ferdinand IV, Alfonso XI, Pedro, Henry the Bastard, John, Henry III, John II, Henry IV, Isabella with Ferdinand of

¹ *Sic* for Mary.

² Or Wilfred.

³ Fruela, Aurelio, and Silo should precede Mauregato.

⁴ Should be Ordoño III; Ordoño IV (958-60) comes in between the two parts of the reign of Sancho I.

⁵ Sancho III, Fernando II, Alfonso VIII, and Enrique I should be inserted before Berengaria.

Aragon, who conquered Naples and Navarre, Joanna with Philip Archduke of Austria, Charles.

So that all these kingdoms, states, and seignories have come to devolve on Charles, the subject of this work, who begins to reign this year in Castile, together with his mother, Queen Joanna, who was neither willing nor able to rule alone.

Asperen in Frisia is captured for King Charles by assault.¹

Friar Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Cardinal and, Archbishop of Toledo, a man of the very highest ability dies at Roa.² He was born in Torrelaguna, and when Canon of Sigüenza took the garb of a Franciscan Friar. He was made confessor to Queen Isabella of Castile, and Archbishop of Toledo and Cardinal, and Regent of Castile, both alone and accompanied [by Adrian of Utrecht]. While in this last office he took the Infante Ferdinand out of the keeping of Gonzalo Núñez de Guzman, his guardian, and spoke and acted arrogantly on many occasions. He had angry words with the Catholic King, because the latter had begged for the archbishopric of Toledo for his son, John,³ Archbishop of Saragossa, and had said that he would make him Pope. He had his enemies, and there were others who spoke no good of him, either because he was so dictatorial or because he did not enjoy the King's favour. He captured Oran, built many monasteries, founded the University of Alcalá de Henares, and, moreover, richly endowed it, although it possessed many benefices, a truly royal action, and one as beneficial as it was noble. He caused the Polyglot Bible to be prepared and printed, which cost him much money, silver plate, and jewels, when he died.

Diet in Mainz to discuss whether or not all kings ought to obey the Emperor.⁴ This caused some warlike outbursts, especially in France.

War waged by Pope Leo against Francesco Maria, Duke

¹ Obviously a mistake. Asperen in Utrecht was captured July 17 by the troops of Duke Charles of Guelders. Henne, ii. 194-5.

² Nov. 8.

³ *Sic* for Alfonso; cf. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, iii. 292.

⁴ Ulmann, ii. 650-55.

of Urbino, in order to get his lands for Lorenzo de' Medici, at the solicitation of Alfonsina, the latter's sister-in-law.¹

A violent but indecisive fight between Selim and Tuman, the new Soldan, in Matera, near Cairo, in which Algazeli killed Sinan, and many others were slain. In order to bury them a three days' truce was made, and two thousand priests went forth from the city, and there were twenty-two hundred in Selim's camp.²

Another battle, which lasted a whole day and was also indecisive, although the Turks said they must have conquered because Algazeli was not in it. On this occasion Selim praised the Mamelukes highly for their courage; and their wives, when they went forth from Cairo to the battle, begged them to slay them, saying that if they were killed, their wives desired to have no other husbands, and that if they conquered, they would not be at a loss to find other wives.

Another indecisive fight, close to the Nile, in which Algazeli was captured. The Turks had one hundred thousand men, and the Soldan only fifteen thousand. But the Soldan fled, because he had lost his good captain and friend, Jambardo Algazeli.

Selim slays the Soldan Tuman,³ who had delivered himself up to Kahir, who was traitor to Kansu, and he gave him over to be tortured in order to make him tell where his treasure was. A camel bore him with chains at his throat through the streets of Cairo with an insulting inscription, and he was hanged at the gate of Benzomil, although he had been so great a prince. And Selim took possession of the territory of Egypt and seated himself in the seat of the Soldans in defiance of the custom of the Turk, who usually seats himself on carpets. Egypt cost him two hundred and fifty thousand men, not counting an equal number of enemies whom he slew.

¹ Burd, pp. 150-1.

² On this and the next three paragraphs cf. Angiolello, pp. 131-8; Jovius, i. 494-512; Hammer, ii. 492-507; Jorga, ii. 338-40.

³ April 13.

Since Algazeli was a Spaniard I will pause to relate his story, although it may take some time.¹ Algazeli, you must know, was a native of Seville, and his mother, whose name was Joanna, took him with her, when he was a boy of ten summers, to Jerusalem, whither she was going on a pilgrimage. Kansu, who had gone to Jerusalem that year, had him kidnapped because of his beauty and grace, and brought him to Cairo, where he was at once made a Mameluke, and given the name of Jambardo. His mother Joanna spoke to the Soldan, and begged him with many tears to give her back her son, pointing out that Christian pilgrims came to Jerusalem with his consent and under his safe-conduct. The Soldan told her what had become of the child, and gave her plenty of money to enable her to return to Spain with her companions, and promised to treat her son well, but, as she continued to beg that she might be allowed to have him, the Soldan said that he would send him to her. She waited a year and afterwards betook herself to Cairo. She wept bitterly at finding her son in the garb of a Mameluke, and was in great fear lest he should apostatize, as indeed he did; and she was never able to get him back for four years, at the end of which time she was told that being a Mameluke he could not return to the Christian faith, without being put to death, because he was fifteen years old. And this grieved her so much that she returned to Jerusalem and died there. A long time after this Jambardo developed into such a graceful youth and polished courtier that he won great favour with the Soldan, who made him Alguazil of Cairo, which is said to be the title of the principal personage of that city, and it was

¹ It is clear that Gómara has invented large portions of this story. There can be no question that the man of whom he speaks is Algazeli, or 'Jamburdo Gazelle', as Jovius calls him; but there is not the slightest evidence that he was a Spaniard, or that he ever had anything to do with Spain. Hammer states that he was a Slavonian. Gómara may possibly have been led astray by the similarity of the words Algazeli and Alguazil. Instead of scorning Selim's proffered pardon, and then escaping to Persia, Algazeli accepted a post in the Turkish army, and later led an insurrection against Solymán I. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; Jovius, i. 506; ii. 1-3; Hammer, ii. 495 ff.; iii. 9 ff.

because of this office that he got the name of Algazeli, since all men were obliged to call him Alguazil. At the same time he developed into such a good soldier and military authority that he was made Captain of the Mamelukes, and so valiant was he that even the Janizaries themselves confessed that they had never met his equal, for in the battle of Matera with a single back-handed stroke—a Spanish trick—he cut off the hand of Sinan Pasha at the wrist, and then killed him just as the latter was raising his mace to give the *coup de grâce* to a certain Mameluke called Setelin. The Turks were amazed, for Sinan, an Albanian, was considered the most valiant leader Selim had. And it was because of Algazeli that the Turks did not win the battle of the Nile. When Selim learned of his valour and loyalty, he commanded him to be seated when he was brought before him, and said to him, ‘I love and reward highly valiant men like thee, and I desire to pardon thee if thou wilt promise to be as faithful to me as thou hast been to the Soldans Kansu and Tuman, whom I conquered, and I will leave thee with the same office of Alguazil, and indeed will give thee another even more honourable one—wherefore, tell me the truth of what thou art thinking in thy heart.’ Algazeli sighed deeply, and cast his eyes to the ground, arose, kissed the earth, and after a pause replied, ‘Sir, I am a Spaniard and a servant from my childhood in the household of Kansu and of Tuman Bey, whom you slew, and between whom and myself there was never a difference in deed or in wish; I laboured hard to make him Soldan, and whatever I accomplished with him I did to his satisfaction. I have served him and followed him in his prosperity and ill-fortune, and desired to end my life with his. But God, in whose divine hand are the life and death of men, has decreed otherwise, and since it is thus, I count it good fortune to have fallen into your power, and to be at the mercy of one, who, without my deserving it, offers me as much as the Soldan could give me. That which my heart holds I will tell your Great Highness, to whom no lies must be spoken, especially by me, who always have

made it my boast to speak the truth and to maintain it. I so loved Tuman Bey, that every time I remember how dishonourably you caused him to be slain, I hate you and wish you ill. For me to receive from you my life and such great favour would be the foulest treason, and although the armies might not feel it or think it, I should know it, and regard myself as a very different person from the one which I have hitherto managed to be. So I beg you to hang me from the same gate as that from which you hung Tuman, my lord, and let the same people bear me through the same streets with the same inscription, in order that we may be united in death as we have been in life.' Having spoken these words with tears and sobs, he fell to the ground in a swoon. Selim caused him to be raised up, saying that he would rather gain the friendship of this man than win another Cairo. And he ordered them to keep him in the castle under a strong guard, but to leave him plenty of liberty. From his prison there Algazeli fled on horseback with a Janizary named Nicholas, and betook himself to the mountains, where the few Mamelukes who survived had assembled; with these he fled to Tabriz, where Ismail Sophy received him most gladly, and made him his Commander-in-chief. Algazeli did such notable deeds in Persia that they called him the Great Devil, although this was probably because he introduced artillery there, with which they were not acquainted. When Ismail died he left Algazeli as General and guardian of Thamasps Sophy, his eldest son, and Algazeli advised him to employ Spanish soldiers, and to make an alliance with Charles, the Emperor and King of Castile.

Martin Luther, a regular, of the Augustinian order, begins to preach and write heresies in Germany, taking as a pretext the Papal indulgences and bulls.¹ This caused the greatest possible loss to Christianity, and was the beginning of infinite evils, such as are always occasioned by similar innovations, and the new ways of living and licence which accompany them.

¹ Cf. Sandoval, i. 78 ff.

The Year 1518

The Aragonese swear loyalty to our lord King Charles in Saragossa.¹

The King sends Friar Garci Jofré de Loaysa, of the Order of St. John, from Saragossa to ask Selim, the Grand Turk, not to maltreat nor hinder pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem. The Sultan answered that he would gladly comply, provided the Emperor would promise not to seize the Greeks in Italy, and he even said that he wondered why the Jews had been driven out of Castile, since doing so was tantamount to driving out wealth.²

The Infante Ferdinand goes to Flanders.³

The Infanta Eleanor marries King Manuel of Portugal, but is soon left a widow.⁴

The King gives the archbishopric of Toledo to Guillaume de Croy, nephew of M. de Chièvres, although he was already Bishop of Cambrai. This greatly displeased the whole kingdom, because he was a foreigner.⁵

The Spaniards slay Arudj Barbarossa, who waged war gallantly against Moors and Christians by land and by sea.⁶

The defeat of Hugo de Moncada at Algiers.⁷

Pope Leo creates thirty-one Cardinals in one day, which looked rather badly, since most of them gained their dignity in return for money.⁸

The Year 1519

The Catalans in Barcelona swear loyalty to Charles, King of Spain,⁹ who was elected Emperor of the Romans¹⁰ at

¹ Sandoval, i. 98; Dormer, *Annales de Aragón*, Lib. I, cap. 18.

² Ibid. i. 101-2. Sandoval takes this paragraph almost word for word from Gómara.

³ Ibid. i. 95.

⁴ Ibid. i. 97.

⁵ Ibid. i. 84.

⁶ Ibid. i. 98. Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vi. 376 ff.

⁷ In August. Sandoval, i. 98; Gómara, *loc. cit.*, 380 ff.; de Rotalier, *Histoire d'Alger*, chap. v.

⁸ This was done in July, 1517. Cf. Carvajal, p. 410; Burd, p. 151.

⁹ Sandoval, i. 104.

¹⁰ June 28. The exact title was 'Rex Romanorum semper Augustus' until his coronation at Bologna in 1530.

Frankfort, in spite of most strenuous competition on the part of King Francis I of France, who corrupted the Electors with gifts and promises through his ambassadors and friends. In addition to this, the latter, aided by the Cardinal 'Legate, Thomas de Vio Cajetan, a good friar, maligned and grossly insulted the new Emperor, and even King Francis himself said that they never again could be good friends, as was indeed the case, for in that struggle, as in a rivalry for a lovely lady, the vanquished party bore no good will to the victor.

The Emperor Charles V holds a Chapter of the Golden Fleece in Barcelona, and gives the collar of the Order to Íñigo de Velasco, Constable of Castile, to Fernando Ramón Folch, Duke of Cardona, to Fadrique de Toledo, Duke of Alva, to Alvaro de Zúñiga, Duke of Béjar, and to Antonio Manrique de Lara, Duke of Nájera.¹

Queen Germaine marries the Margrave of Brandenburg,² for which reason many gentlemen were unwilling to call her 'Your Highness' until the Emperor commanded them to do so.

Beatrice of Portugal goes to marry Duke Charles of Savoy.³

Battle of Cintla, in which Hernando Cortés vanquished the Tlascalans.⁴

Montezuma receives Cortés in a friendly manner in Mexico.⁵

Cortés captures Montezuma—a feat as dangerous as it was remarkable.⁶

Pedrarias de Ávila, the Joustler slays Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who was an excellent leader in the Indies.⁷

¹ March 5. Cf. lists of recipients of the collar of the Order in Sandoval, i. 103, Vandenesse, pp. 60-1.

² Ibid., p. 61, and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xiv. 156.

³ They were married in 1521.

⁴ March 25. Cf. Diaz del Castillo, *Conquest of New Spain*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., Series II, vol. xxiii, i. 118 ff.; Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 309.

⁵ Nov. 8. Diaz del Castillo, *loc. cit.* ii. 39-44; Gómara, *loc. cit.*, p. 340.

⁶ Nov. 14. Diaz del Castillo, *loc. cit.* ii. 92-100; Gómara, *loc. cit.*, p. 350.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 196 ff.

Ferdinand Magellan passes through the Strait that bears his name, on his way to find the Spice Islands.¹

Five years' truce between Christian Princes at the intercession of Pope Leo.² This was done in fear of the Turk, who also was afraid of them.

King Francis, anxious to get a pretext for making war, demands hostages and security for the observance of the treaties of Noyon from the Emperor Charles, through his ambassador, Lansac.³

Death of the Emperor Maximilian,⁴ who was certainly the most liberal prince of his time. He was ten years in learning how to talk, which caused the Emperor Frederick, his father, to believe that he was dumb and stupid, but in the end he learned to speak well, and was very wise. He undertook many and most difficult wars, and for that very reason failed to finish most of them, though want of money is also a partial explanation. The Chronicler Pedro Mejía, a man of many accomplishments, wrote his life at great length, together with that of the other Emperors.⁵

Baudilla, King of Tenes, comes to Barcelona to beg aid against Kheir-ed-Din Barbarossa, who had expelled him from his realm.⁶

The Year 1520

The Emperor Charles interviews Henry VIII, King of England, on his way to Flanders by sea.⁷

Charles enters Germany, and is crowned Emperor at Aix.⁸

The Communes of Castile begin their revolt, but after a good start had a bad ending, and exalted beyond what it

¹ Oct. 21—Nov. 28, 1520. Gómara, *loc. cit.*, pp. 213 ff.

² Oct. 1518. Cf. *Spanish Cal.*, vol. ii, No. 264.

³ The Sieur de Lansac or Laussac. Sandoval, i. 116; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 768.

⁴ Jan. 12. Sandoval (i. 102) copies Gómara here.

⁵ In his *Los Cesares desde Julio y Augusto hasta Maximiliano I de Austria* (Seville, 1554).

⁶ Cf. above, pp. 5 and 58.

⁷ May 27. Vandenesse, p. 63.

⁸ Oct. 23.

had previously been, the power of the King whom they desired to abase. They rose in revolt because the King was leaving the realm, because of the *servicio*, because of the foreign Regent, because of the large amounts of money which were being taken out of the realm, and because the chief office of the treasury had been given to Chièvres, the archbishopric of Toledo to Guillaume de Croy, and knighthoods of the Military Orders to foreigners.¹

In many cities the *procuradores* are assaulted because they granted the *servicio*, and in Segovia the *regidor* Tordesillas is put to death. This caused the Alcalde Ronquillo to be sent thither.²

Of the eighteen cities represented in Cortes thirteen meet together at Ávila for the common good, and in general assembly proffer sixty demands.³

Friars and confessors are to blame for the movement among the common people. The Comuneros seize the person of Queen Joanna, and discuss a project of marrying her to the Duke of Calabria.⁴

The Comuneros enter Tordesillas by force of arms in order to take possession of the Queen.⁵

Mexico rises in rebellion against the Spaniards.⁶

Pedrarias de Ávila makes a settlement in Panama.⁷

Diego de Deza, Archbishop of Seville, and Archbishop-elect of Toledo, dies. He was tutor of Prince John, built the college of St. Thomas in Seville, was a good theologian and something of an author, and wrote, among other things, a commentary on the *Pater Noster* in the vernacular.⁸

¹ Sandoval, i. 140-336; Mejía, *Comunidades de Castilla*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI, 367-407; Danvila, *Historia de las Comunidades de Castilla*, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vols. 35-70.

² Mejía, *ibid.*, pp. 375 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-6. It seems probable that Mejía was Gómara's source here also. There were eighty-two petitions in all.

⁴ Danvila in *Mem. Hist. Esp.* xxxvi. 762.

⁵ The 'cavalleros' in the original text is obviously an error for 'comuneros'.

⁶ Díaz del Castillo, ii. 226 ff.; Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 363 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁸ July 9, 1523, Gams, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*, i. 281, says, 'Nec diversi auctoris est quamvis anonymus adhuc

Pope Leo condemns Martin Luther as a heretic.¹

The very powerful King Montezuma dies as a result of being struck by a stone.² His greatness and estate I have described in the *Conquista de Méjico*.

The Kings of France and England and their vassals meet at Ardres, with more show of splendour than accomplishment of business, although they discussed a project of marriage between the Dauphin and Princess Mary of Wales, and promised one another eternal friendship.³

Selim the Grand Turk dies in Tchorlu,⁴ where he fought with his father, biting his hands from the pain caused by the cancer which devoured his entrails; he was forty-six years of age,⁵ and had reigned eight. He was long in the body and short in the legs, had a round face, a yellow complexion, and large dull eyes. He was stern, choleric, and daring, and ceaselessly ambitious, not slow in action, but quick to seize his opportunity; indeed he used to say that through delay good chances were lost in important undertakings. He was excessively cruel, though he observed justice; and thus it was that he slew his father and two brothers, and many nephews and sixty-two other relatives, men of his own family, and said that there was nothing so delightful as to reign without relations, a remark which was both unworthy and hateful. When he went to attack the Sophy he left a shirt soaked in poison, with orders that Piri Pasha should clothe his son Solyman with it, in case the latter should attempt to raise his kingdom in revolt during his absence; although others say that he did it because his cruel deeds had debased him. He slew Mustafa Pasha because he advised the sons of Ahmed to flee, and Skander Pasha because in the war against the Sophy he made diffi-

maneat auctor *La Exposicion del Pater Noster* por el obispo de Salamanca'. Deza was Bishop of Salamanca 1496-7.

¹ The bull was published in Rome in June.

² June 30. Diaz del Castillo, ii. 238; Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 365.

³ The Field of the Cloth of Gold, June 7-24.

⁴ Sept. 20. Parts of Gómara's account follow very closely that in Jovius, *Commentarius Rerum Turcicarum*.

⁵ *Sic* for 54.

culties about crossing the River Euphrates, and Bustan Pasha, his own brother-in-law, because he accepted presents and bribes, and Junis Pasha because he stirred up the Janizaries to revolt against Kahir, and Chemden Pasha because he gave him frank advice;¹ and he cut down his Jewish doctor with his own scimitar because he would not permit the surgeons to cut the cancer from his flesh, on the ground that it would spread the more. He buried his horse which had been slain at Cairo, because it had saved him in the battle which he waged against his own father in Tchorlu; an act which but emphasized the brutality of the man, who left unburied his own brothers, nephews, relatives, servants, and favourites. He was a great warrior, and used to say that no victory was complete unless the sovereign won it in person. He was temperate in his appetites, both as regards women and in the pleasures of the table. He ate but a single kind of flesh, and that by no means delicate, but it was enough to keep him alive and well. He was a great hunter, both in skill and in strength. The year in which he died, in order not to feel or think of his illness, he drank, contrary to the wishes of his doctors, a potion of flax, concocted with many things, which causes unconsciousness for twenty-four hours, and which always makes men continue to think of the thing on which their thoughts were at the time of drinking: for example, if their minds were on women, they see them in the air; if on war, they think of battles; if on the chase, of wild beasts, and killing them. Contrary to the custom of the kings who preceded him, he did not wear a beard, in order, so he said, that no one should pull it, as the Pashas and Janizaries did his father's. He once said to Piri Pasha, who was advising him to construct some sort of a hospital, and to give away in charity many of the spoils which he had taken from different people in Brusa and other cities: 'It is not well that I should

¹ This list of Pashas should be compared with that in Hammer, ii. 535-6. Cf. also Jovius, *Commentarius Rerum Turcicarum*, under Selim. The latter gives 'Boctangi' instead of 'Bustan' Pasha; which probably means Pasha or leader of the 'Bostanji' or gardeners of the Sultan.

honour myself with other men's property by the giving of such orders as these; therefore, let the spoils be restored.' It was a worthy sentiment, though uttered by an evil mouth.

Solyman, the only son of Selim, begins to reign in Constantinople.

The regents send Beltran de la Cueva to San Sebastian.¹ He fought with the French and Germans at the Rock of Aldava, and conquered them with the loss of only one man, and he was slain by an arquebus-shot in the mouth, which was filled with curses at the moment.²

The Emperor crosses to England on his way to Spain, and discusses with King Henry an alliance and a marriage with his daughter.³

The Emperor returns to Spain, and subdues the Castilian communes, punishing some and pardoning others.⁴

War in Flanders, because of which the Emperor goes to Tournay, which the French were holding.⁵

There is a Diet at Worms in which King Francis, from a distance, challenges the Emperor to war.⁶

War in Burgundy between the Flemings and the French, without any notable exploit taking place.⁷

King Francis musters his *francs archers* and threatens the Emperor and Italy.⁸

War of King Henry of England in Picardy.⁹

The long voyage of Juan Sebastian del Cano, which encircled the whole world.¹⁰

¹ In 1521. Cf. Sandoval, i. 404. This and the remaining paragraphs of this year are all misplaced; they deal with events which occurred in 1521, 1522, and 1523. The B. M. MS. misplaces them in the same way, so that it does not seem possible to impute the error to the scribe. It is worth noting, however, that Gómara, in his *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 218-19, gives the correct date (Sept. 6, 1522) for the return of Sebastian del Cano, which is here placed in 1520.

² B. M. MS. has 'que fue pena de un renegador' ('which was the punishment of a blasphemous').

³ May 26-July 6, 1522. B. M. MS. has 'en Vindisor' ('in Windsor').

⁴ Charles arrived in Spain July 16, 1522. B. M. MS. has 'todos' ('all') for 'otros' ('others').

⁵ October, 1521. Vandenesse, p. 31.

⁶ Met Jan. 22, 1521.

⁷ In 1521. Sandoval, i. 403.

⁸ *Gronique de Francois I^{er}*, ed. Guiffrey, p. 36.

⁹ 1523. Fisher, pp. 250 ff.

¹⁰ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 218-19. Cano landed Sept. 6, 1522.

The Year 1521

The battle of Villalar, which the Comuneros lost, despite the valiant fighting of Juan Bravo and of the commander-in-chief, Juan de Padilla.¹

The solemn punishment inflicted the day after the battle by the Alcalde Antonio, who beheaded Juan de Padilla, Juan Bravo, and Pedro Maldonado as rebels. Afterwards Saravia was beheaded in Valladolid, and Pedro Pimentel de Talavera in Simancas.²

At this time a sheep slew a soldier who had stolen it and was carrying it off slung around his neck, by knocking him off a wall, on which the soldier had sat down to rest. This was held to be a miracle, but I may add that ten years later in Rome I saw a groom of Cardinal Loaysa repeat the sheep's exploit, by knocking off a perch, and thereby killing, a fellow-servant who had wagered that the thing was impossible.

The earthquake at Almeria and at Lisbon and Santarem.⁴

Hernando Cortés captures Mexico.⁵

Ferdinand Magellan dies in battle with Cilapulapo at Mactan.⁶

Castilians discover Tidore in the Moluccas, one of the spice-bearing islands.⁷

King Francis stirs up a war in Luxemburg by means of Robert de la Marck, Count of Aremberg, in defiance of the Treaty of Noyon, and without having given any notification to the Emperor beforehand; and he sends André de Foix, Seigneur de Lesparre, with an army against Navarre, and the latter took Pamplona and laid siege to Logroño.⁸

¹ April 23.

² Sandoval, i. 355. Danvila, in *Mem. Hist. Esp.* xxxviii, 213, 340. Francisco, not Pedro, Maldonado, was executed.

³ Cf. Ferrer del Rio. *Historia del Levantamiento de las Comunidades de Castilla*, pp. 321-2 n; also Introduction, p. xli.

⁴ In September, 1522. Cf. Sandoval, i. 418. I am by no means certain that 'Lisbon' is the correct translation of the text; but reference to the fourth paragraph of the year 1531 in this work, and to p. 108 of vol. ii of Sandoval, which speaks of an earthquake in Almeria, Lisbon, and Santarem in that year, points to that interpretation.

⁵ Aug 13. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 392.

⁶ April 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

⁷ Nov. 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18.

⁸ Sandoval, i. 373 ff.

The Emperor holds a Diet, the first of his reign, at Worms, where Barroys, the ambassador of King Francis, spoke discourteous words against His Majesty.¹

Henry of Nassau and Franz von Sickingen enter Picardy with an imperial army in retaliation for the action of Robert de la Marck and of André de Foix, but they did not gain much by it.²

The Constable, Iñigo de Velasco, and the Admiral Fadrique Henriquez, regents of Castile, conquer and capture the Seigneur de Lesparre behind the Sierra de Veniega, through the efforts of Beltrán de la Cueva, who seized the enemy's artillery.³

The Emperor and King Francis go forth to battle near Valenciennes with good armies, but do not accomplish anything worth telling of.⁴

Solemn condemnation of the Lutheran heresies by the Emperor in Worms and by the King of France in Paris.⁵

The Germanía of Valencia under the 'Rey Encubierto', which was defeated at Murviedro by Alonzo de Aragon, Duke of Segorbe, and in Valencia by Rodrigo de Mendoza, Marquis of Zenete.⁶

The revolt by those who called themselves Men of the Devil in Guyenne.⁷

The King of France imposes a tax on his clergy to pay for the war.⁸

The Infanta Maria of Castile marries Louis, King of

¹ Opened Jan. 22, 1521. This paragraph of Gómara is almost identical with the marginal summary in Sandoval, i. 379; but the latter does not mention Barroys in the text.

² Mignet, i. 260.

³ Battle of Esquiros or Noain, June 30. Cf. Sandoval, i. 377; Mignet, i. 261-2.

⁴ This paragraph, the tenth paragraph of this same year, and the fourth from the end of the year 1520, apparently refer to different stages in the same series of events. Cf. Mignet, i. 272 ff.; Sandoval, i. 403; and *above* p. 62, n. 6, and p. 64, n. 2.

⁵ May 26 and April 15.

⁶ Cf. Sayas, *Annales de Aragón*, caps. lvi, lviii, lxxiii, lxxxii. On the 'Rey Encubierto' cf. Danvila, *Germanía de Valencia*, p. 178.

⁷ Probably refers to the great uprising of 1523. Cf. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, pp. 375-6.

⁸ Lavisé, vol. v, pt. i, p. 260.

Hungary,¹ and the Infante Ferdinand marries Anna, the sister of Louis.²

Manuel, King of Portugal, dies³—a man of small stature, but of great heart, in whose name many good things were done in Arabia, Persia, India, and other provinces of Asia. His first two wives were sisters, and his third was their niece, and all of them were relatives of his own, and he had children by them all, for his first queen, the Princess Isabel, bore him Prince Miguel, and her sister Maria many children, and Eleanor, their niece, a daughter who was called Maria.

The Pope and the Emperor make an alliance against King Francis in support of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan;⁴ the Pope, because King Francis had given aid to Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, against him, and because he wanted to get Parma and Piacenza, and along with them Ferrara; the Emperor, because of the affairs of Robert de la Marck and of Lesparre, because he wanted to drive the French out of Italy, and because it was his business as Emperor to restore the Duke of Milan to his estates.

Two good armies on the Adda, a river in Lombardy, one composed of Frenchmen under Lautrec, and of Venetians under Teodoro Trivulcio and the Duke of Ferrara, and the other representing the League, under Francesco Sforza, in which the Papal general was Federigo de Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and the Imperial leader, Prospero Colonna.⁵

The war continues in Lombardy, more places being besieged.

Death of Pope Leo, who was a most liberal patron of arts and letters.⁶

Election of Pope Adrian VI, who was in Vitoria at the time.⁷

War between King Louis of Hungary and the Voivode, who called on the Turk to aid him.⁸

¹ Jan. 13, 1522.

² May 27, 1521.

³ Dec. 13.

⁴ May 8. Cf. Nitti, pp. 431 ff.

⁵ Sandoval, i. 404 ff.

⁶ Dec. 21.

⁷ Jan. 9, 1522.

⁸ Jorga, ii. 385-90.

Solyman captures by treachery Belgrade, a most important place in Hungary.¹ This was the first war which he waged in his own person. He slew the man who surrendered it, in spite of his oath to the contrary, saying that in providing him and others with a grave he was giving them the land he had promised them; so this was a case—not of a faithless king, but—of a despot's edict.

The Year 1522

The Archbishop of Bari, Gabriel Merino, with the Dean and Chapter, and with the Marshal Payo de Rivera and other knights of Toledo, conquers and expels from the city Doña Maria Pacheco, the wife of Juan de Padilla, an even more zealous supporter of the Comuneros than her husband. She fled to Portugal on a mule in the clothes of a labouring woman and with some large geese in her hands in order to avoid recognition, for otherwise they would have beheaded her also. The reason she had espoused the cause of the communes so ardently was that she hoped to be made queen, as certain Moorish witches in Granada had prophesied she would. She captured clergymen, slew soldiers, and expected to be implicitly obeyed. She took crosses and used them for banners, and even carried on a standard a picture of Juan de Padilla being executed.²

The conquest of Nicaragua by Gil Gonzalez de Avila.³

Duke Francesco Sforza effects an entrance into Milan through the valour of the Spaniards, led by the Marquis of Pescara.⁴

Lautrec captures Novara by force of arms, and Prospero Colonna, Alessandria.⁵

The battle of Bicocca, in which our men captured seventeen banners from the enemy, and Juan de Cardona, Count of Colosa, met his death.⁶

¹ Aug. 29. Hammer, iii. 11-14.

² Sandoval (i. 360) copies Gómara here.

³ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 280.

⁴ Mignet, i. 285-7.

⁵ Sandoval, i. 406.

⁶ April 27. Guicciardini, iii. 366.

The famous pillaging of Genoa by the Spaniards.¹

Pope Adrian crosses to Rome with a good Spanish fleet.²

Guillaume Bonnivet, Admiral of France, enters Navarre with a large army and besieges Pamplona, which was defended by Francisco de Zúñiga, Count of Miranda. Shortly afterward he captures Maya, and later Fuenterrabia, through the fault of Diego de Vera.³

The Year 1523

The Constable Iñigo de Velasco besieges Fuenterrabia while the Emperor was at Vitoria, and a most laborious siege it was, because of the heavy rains and great cold.⁴

Agreement between the Emperor Charles and the King of England to attack the King of France, against whom they duly proclaim war.⁵

Francisco Hernández settles Muarasua, directed by Pedrarias de Ávila.⁶

Diego Velasquez de Cuéllar, who had been the richest Spaniard in the Indies, dies.

The French hand over the castle of Milan to Duke Francesco Sforza.⁷

Alliance of the Pope and the Emperor, the Duke of Milan, the Venetians, Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Genoa against all disturbers of the peace of Italy.⁸

Viscount Boniface attempts to stab to death his relative, the Duke of Milan.⁹

Guillaume Bonnivet, Admiral of France, unsuccessfully besieges Milan with thirty thousand men and four thousand

¹ Ibid. iii. 370.

² He arrived at Rome, Aug. 29.

³ In 1521. Cf. Sandoval, i. 403-4; Mignet, i. 275.

⁴ It surrendered in January, 1524. Sandoval, i. 421-2 and 440-1.

⁵ The treaty was made June 19, 1522, when Charles was in England. Fisher, 240. See also Busch, *Kardinal Wolsey und die englische kaiserliche Allianz*, 1886.

⁶ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 405. 'Muarasua' must be a mistake for 'Nicaragua'.

⁷ April 14. Guicciardini, iii. 384.

⁸ Really two alliances were made, June 28 and Aug. 3. Cf. Burd, pp. 157-8.

⁹ Sandoval, i. 430.

horse. It was defended by Prospero Colonna with twelve thousand soldiers, of whom four thousand were Spaniards.¹

The English and Flemish army invades France, and caused much fear in Paris and did some damage without profit to itself. The army was composed of over thirty thousand infantry and six thousand horse.²

Charles, Duke of Bourbon, flees from France daringly and craftily, and the blame for the war in Burgundy is laid on the King of France by the Emperor.³

A great revolt of the common people and clergy begins in Germany.⁴

Death of Pope Adrian VI, who did not change his name when he became Pope.⁵ He was born in Holland and was Dean of Louvain when the Emperor Maximilian made him tutor to his grandson Charles, because of his wisdom and high character. He came to Spain as ambassador to the Catholic King to see about the government of Castile, and to take possession of the realm for Charles, and he became regent of Castile and Bishop of Tortosa. Men murmured against him because he was not lavish like his predecessors, and also because he reproached the Cardinals for their vices, and for their large retinues, and because he did not succour Rhodes. He was unwilling to absolve those who sacked Genoa, nor would he give the archbishopric of Toledo to George of Austria, bastard of the Emperor Maximilian, remembering that the Comuneros had complained because it had been given to Guillaume de Croy. He granted to the Emperor Charles, as King of Spain, the perpetual government and administration of the grand-masterships of Castile, abolished for ever the tribute paid by Naples to the See of Rome, and did other things to the Emperor's advantage.

Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who became Pope after Adrian,

¹ Mignet, i. 434 ff.

² Aug.-Nov., 1523. Fisher, p. 250, estimates the entire force at about 21,000 men.

³ In August. Mignet, cap. v.

⁴ The Peasants' War, which began in June, 1524.

⁵ Sept. 14. Sandoval (i. 436) again copies Gómara.

takes the title of Clement VIII.¹ He continued the alliance and war waged by Leo and Adrian against the French, despite the earnest prayers to the contrary of Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, ambassador of King Francis.

The battle of Rebecco and that of Garlasco,² where the Duke of Urbino was very prominent against the French. Charles de Lannoy was general, owing to the death of Prospero Colonna. After these battles, the Admiral returned to France with an arm shattered by a shot from an arquebus.

N de Cardenas is buried alive at Madrid, and Francisco Marradas at Naples.

The Year 1524

Fuenterrabia is regained from the French by agreement, although they did all in their power, both by land and by sea, to retain it.³

Pedro de Ayala, Count of Salvatierra, perishes miserably in the prison of Burgos, where the Emperor was at the time, because he had supported the cause of the Comuneros. They carried him to his grave with his feet uncovered and in fetters.⁴

The partition of the Indies and of the New World is drawn up at Badajoz between the Castilians and Portuguese.⁵

The conquest of Cuahutemallan, accomplished by Pedro de Alvarado, general of Hernando Cortés.⁶

The conversion of the Indians in Mexico begins as had been planned.

¹ *Sic* for Clement VII : elected Nov. 18.

² On Rebecco cf. Sandoval, i. 435, and Mignet, i. 462. The modern name of the place is Robecchetto. On Garlasco, cf. Leva, ii. 208. Colonna died Dec. 30. Cf. also Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 31.

³ Cf. the first paragraph of the year 1523.

⁴ Sayas, cap. cvi; Sandoval, i. 253, 304.

⁵ Sandoval, i. 442; Sayas, cap. cvii; Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 219 ff.; Bourne, pp. 130-2.

⁶ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 400.

Ambassadors of the Sophy come to Burgos to ask for the alliance of the Emperor against the Turk.¹

Charles, Duke of Suffolk, makes war on the French in Picardy.²

John Stewart, Duke of Albany, lays siege to Wark³ with a Scottish force, but Thomas Howard moves against him with an English army, and forces him to abandon it.

Rodrigo de Bastidas settles Santa Martha.⁴

Francisco de las Casas, and Gil Gonzales de Ávila valorously slay Cristóval de Olid in Triumpho de la Cruz.⁵

King John of Portugal, the third of his name, marries Catharine, Infanta of Castile and sister of the Emperor. By her he had many children, all of whom he outlived, and seven of whom had been sworn to as his successors, a turn of fortune as singular as it was notable.⁶

The French having already been expelled from Italy, the Duke of Bourbon, at the command of the Emperor and of the King of England, attacks Marseilles more violently than ever, with fourteen pieces of artillery, one thousand cavalry, and sixteen thousand infantry.⁷

The audacious invasion of Italy by King Francis, who followed in the rear of the Duke of Bourbon, with twenty-two thousand infantry and four thousand horse. With their aid he forthwith entered Milan and laid siege to Pavia.⁸

Count Alberto de Carpi and Juan Matheo Giberto, of the Papal Datary, arrange an alliance of King Francis with the Pope and the Florentines.⁹

King Francis sends the Duke of Albany against Naples with ten thousand infantry and six hundred horse, as much

¹ In March. Sandoval, i. 441; Sayas, cap. cvi.

² A mistake. The English did not invade Picardy in this year.

³ This seems the most probable translation of the Spanish 'Verchin'. Albany besieged Wark in Sept.-Oct. 1523, but was frightened off by the counter-expedition of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. Albany left for France, May 20, 1524, never to return. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liv. 321.

⁴ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 200.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 406-7; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ii. 384.

⁶ Sayas, cap. cxix.

⁷ Guicciardini, iii. 439.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

⁹ In November. Cf. Leva, ii. 228-30; Mignet, ii. 21 ff.

in order to divert the attention of the Spaniards from Lombardy, as to conquer Naples itself.¹

Francisco de Garay, adelantado of Panuco, dies in Mexico, who while governor at Jamaica was rich and powerful, but who when he attempted conquests grew poor, to the misfortune of his children.²

The Duke of Guelders stirs up war in Holland.³

Count Franz von Sickingen provokes a war on the Archbishop of Treves, because the latter was a Catholic.⁴

Wars in Cairo, which revolted against the Turk.⁵

Death of Ismail Sophy, so well known throughout the world for his devotion to religion and ability in war.⁶ Bayazid took umbrage at his glory and Selim was envious of it. He was much beloved and consequently bewailed by his people.

The Year 1525

The noble battle of Pavia, in which King Francis of France was captured, fighting and wounded, which was to his honour.⁷ Francisco Hernando de Avalos, Marquis of Pescara and leader of the Spanish troops, carried off the glory of the victory, though the leaders of the imperial army were Charles de Lannoy and Charles Duke of Bourbon. The honour of taking the King was won by Captain Juanes de Hernani, who captured him, and by Diego de Ávila, who took his sword and right-hand glove, and by Machin, a man-at-arms of Hugo de Moncada.

Charles de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, and Señor Alarcón bring King Francis a prisoner to Spain. Señor Alarcón continued to guard him for a time, but later

¹ In 1525. Leva, ii. 231 ff.; Mignet, ii. 23.

² Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 183, 397-8. ³ Henne, iii. 348 ff.

⁴ It does not seem as if the corresponding paragraph of the text could refer to anything except the famous 'Knights' War' of April, 1523; and I have so interpreted it. There are certainly difficulties about translating 'Haege' as 'Sickingen', but I can find no likelier alternative. The B. M. MS. sheds no light on the matter.

⁵ Jorga, ii. 358 ff.

⁶ May 19.

⁷ Feb. 24. Cf. Guicciardini, iii. 471 ff.; Sandoval, i. 477; Mignet, vol. ii, cap. vii.

handed him over to the Alferez García de Carabariantes de Gómara, an old and valiant soldier who never swore to God.¹

Burial in Granada of the body of King Philip, after the Queen had kept it with her for twenty years.²

The voyage of Garci Jofré de Loaysa to the Moluccas.³

The very difficult journey which Cortés made from Mexico to Higueras.⁴

Rising of the Moriscos of Valencia in the Sierra de Bernia, because of their forcible conversion to Christianity.⁵

The exceedingly imposing court and assembly of magnates held by the Emperor at Toledo, at which there were present both Spaniards and foreigners, among whom were Philip, the Grand Master of Rhodes, with forty Knights-Commanders, and Cardinal Giovanni de Salviati, Papal Legate, and ambassadors from all the states of Italy, from the Sophy, from Russia, and from all the Christian kings of Europe.⁶

The Emperor gives the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem the Islands of Malta and of Gozo and also Tripoli in Barbary, where they settle down.⁷

The discovery of Peru, a land exceedingly rich in silver and gold, by Francisco Pizarro and his companions.⁸

Negotiations of the Pope with the Venetians and the Duke of Milan against the Emperor, for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of Lombardy.⁹

Girolamo Morone, counsellor of the Duke of Milan, armed with letters from the Pope and the Venetians, attempts to win away the Marquis of Pescara from his allegiance to the Emperor, by promising him the kingdom of Naples and the leadership of the army of Italy, but Pescara refuses his offers and discloses them.¹⁰

¹ Sandoval, i. 491-2; also A. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du roi François I^{er}* in *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*, 1847.

² Prescott, iii. 270 n.

³ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 221 ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 409 ff.

⁵ Sandoval, i. 505.

⁶ Sandoval, i. 492; Vandenesse, p. 71.

⁷ Sayas, caps. civ, cxxvi.

⁸ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 224 ff.

⁹ Leva, ii. 273-81.

¹⁰ Ibid. ii. 281-303.

Louise of Savoy, mother of King Francis and regent of France, negotiates with the Pope and the King of England and others who were in terror of the Emperor, to secure the liberation of her son.¹

The Emperor grants a six months' truce to the French.² He visits King Francis, who was ill, to console him.

The Marquis of Pescara besieges Duke Francesco Sforza in the Castle of Milan, after having taken from him practically all his land, because he had rebelled against the Emperor and attempted to kill the Spaniards.³

Francisco Hernando de Avalos, a most excellent general, dies while besieging the Duke in Milan, and Antonio de Leyva with Alonzo de Avalos, Marquis del Vasto, continues the siege.⁴

Thomas Münzer revolts in Saxony against the lords and bishops, who had slain six thousand of his Lutherans in Franconia.⁵

Uprisings of the Lutherans in Germany, in which one hundred thousand men were slain by the knife within four months.⁶

The Year 1526

The Emperor sets free the King of France on receiving his oath to observe and fulfil the promises he had made him, or else to return to prison, under pain of being held to have broken faith.⁷

The agreements made between King Francis and the Emperor at Madrid on January 14th were, chiefly, that within a month and a half the French King should hand over to the Emperor the whole of Burgundy, such as it had been under Charles the Bold; that he should and did renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Asti, and Genoa; that

¹ Jacqueton, *Politique extérieure de Louise de Savoie*, caps. iii-ix.

² Eight months, from June, according to Sandoval, i. 496.

³ Ibid. i. 502.

⁴ Ibid. i. 504.

⁵ *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xxiii. 41-6.

⁶ This doubtless refers to the Peasants' War at its height.

⁷ Jan. 24. Sandoval, i. 517-42; Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, vol. iv, pt. i, pp. 400 ff.

he should and did abandon the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois, in return for Guisnes, Ponthieu, and Peronne; that he should restore Hesdin and demolish Théroutanne; that he should bear no aid to Henri d'Albret, nor to Duke Charles of Guelders, nor to Robert de la Marck, nor to the Duke of Würtemberg; that he should restore the Duke of Bourbon and Philibert of Châlons, Prince of Orange, to their lands and possessions; that he should marry Eleanor, Queen of Portugal, the elder sister of the Emperor, and that his son, the Dauphin Francis, should marry Maria, daughter of the said Eleanor; that he should give two millions of gold to the Emperor to pay the expense of the wars which he provoked, and leave his sons Francis and Henry as hostages until payment should be made and his agreements fulfilled; that the prisoners taken by both sides should be set free, and that the merchandise which had been seized on both sides should be restored. Charles de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, Hugo de Moncada, Prior of Messina, and the Secretary Jean Allemand, baron of Bouclans, signed these treaties with the Emperor, and François de Tournon, Archbishop of Embrun, Jean de Selves, President of the Parlement de Paris, and Philippe Chabot, Sieur de Brion, with the King of France. These last had been given sufficient authority to conclude the treaty by the regent, the Parlement de Paris, and the realm.¹

When the Emperor asked Hernando de Vega his advice about setting the King at liberty, he replied that the King of France was doing very well at Madrid; and Mercurino Gattinara, the Grand Chancellor, said that he should either be let go without conditions or else retained in captivity.²

Public betrothal of King Francis and the Lady Eleanor in Illescas.³

The Emperor and King Francis dine together in Madrid, which was worth seeing.⁴

¹ Cf. Sandoval, i. 519-42. The stipulation about paying the expenses of the wars that Francis provoked probably refers to § 20 of the treaty, in which Francis promised to assume all Charles's debts to Henry VIII.

² Sandoval, i. 518.

³ Ibid. i. 543-4.

⁴ Mignet, ii. 177-83.

The handing over of the Dauphins Francis and Henry, which was solemn and ceremonious and took place in the following manner.¹ A ship with six Spanish sailors and as many French ones lay in the stream between Irun and Vanzo. To this ship there went out in a small boat from one bank King Francis, Charles de Lannoy, Señor Alarcón, and two Spanish knights, and from the other the Dauphins, a son of the Admiral of France, and two other French knights. The King of France and the Dauphins entered the ship first and at the same time, next the Viceroy and the Duke of Orleans, after them Alarcón and the Admiral's son, and finally the other knights, two by two. The King, after standing a minute with his sons, crossed over to France with his French followers, and when he landed on French soil swore anew to observe the treaties of Madrid, and was unable to restrain his joy at being free. The Dauphins came to Spain and were handed over to the Constable, Íñigo de Velasco, in Berlanga.

The happy marriage of the Emperor and Isabella, the Infanta of Portugal, is celebrated in Seville with great solemnity and rejoicing.² Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, Antonio de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, and Alvaro de Zúñiga, Duke of Béjar, brought her thither. Cardinal Giovanni di Salviati, Legate Apostolic, married them, and Alonzo de Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, pronounced the nuptial benediction.

The conversion and baptism of the Moors of Aragon.³

Francisco de Montejo conquers Yucatan.⁴

The treaties to which the French King swore are revoked in France, the King asserting that he was not obliged to fulfil them, because he could not make a valid treaty when he was a prisoner.⁵

The great League made in Angoulême, which caused

¹ March 17. Cf. Sandoval, i. 550-2; Mignet, ii. 188-90.

² March 10. Sandoval, i. 545-9; Vandenesse, pp. 74-5.

³ The edict was issued in 1525. Cf. Lea, *Moriscos of Spain*, pp. 84 ff.

⁴ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 186.

⁵ Cf. Mignet, ii. 191-6. Two unsuccessful efforts were made to extort a ratification of the treaties from Francis.

infinite evils and deaths, between Pope Clement, Francis King of France, Henry King of England, Sigismund King of Poland, King James of Scotland, the Seignior of Venice, Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan, the Florentines, and others, on the pretext of freeing the Duke of Milan and ridding Italy of the Spaniards, but really in order that King Francis should not be obliged to fulfil the promises he made at Madrid. Another object of the League was to select a new King of Naples, who was to be Giannin di Medici, who was to pay the King of France seventy thousand crowns a year, and one thousand to Duke Francesco. An army sufficient to expel the Imperialists from Italy was to be collected for this purpose, and to be kept under arms until its object was accomplished.¹

King Francis sends his ambassadors to tell the Emperor, who was at Granada, that he could not fulfil any of his promises, since Burgundy could not be alienated from the Royal Domain of the Crown of France, and to say further that if his sons were returned to him for a reasonable price he would take the Emperor's sister to wife, but if not, that he intended to win them back by war.²

This demand was backed up by the ambassadors of the allies, who insisted that His Majesty should cease to besiege the Duke of Milan, withdraw the Spaniards from Lombardy, abandon Naples, should not enter Italy with an army, and should pay the debts of the King of England: and added that if he did not do these things they would all make war upon him, since it was for this purpose that they had made an alliance.

The demands were outrageous, and the threatened war promised to be very terrible, for the allies were many and powerful, but this did not cause the Emperor to flinch. Instead, he replied with his accustomed gravity that the

¹ League of Cognac, May 22. Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, vol. iv, pt. i, pp. 451-5. Henry VIII was declared protector of the League, but did not join it. Poland and Scotland were only included as friends of the active participants.

² Sandoval (i. 565-6) copies this and the next two paragraphs, almost word for word, from Gómara. Cf. also Mignet, ii. 214-18.

Most Christian King did ill in failing to fulfil his promise and oath, and that his realm could not hinder him from making treaties of peace, since it had not prevented his making arrangements for war. And principally, that he would have them to know and understand that he would retain his hostages until he had been paid, that no one ought to abandon his wife for any slight whatever; that Francesco Sforza, as Duke of Milan, was his feudal vassal, and that he therefore could and ought to punish him as a rebel and a traitor; that he would not abandon Naples because it belonged to him by inheritance, by treaty, and by right of a just and good war; and that to Italy he would go as often as he pleased; and that if they all made war upon him he would know how to defend himself against them all with his good and loyal vassals, under the guidance of God and in the cause of justice; and that he would pay the King of England with the money of the King of France.

The Emperor dispatches Bourbon as his commander-in-chief to Lombardy, not without some hopes of gaining the Duchy of Milan.¹

The Duke of Urbino captures Lodi with Papal and Venetian troops.²

Francesco Sforza hands over the Castle of Milan to Antonio de Leyva and goes off to the Papal army.³

The great army of the League lays siege to Milan, which is defended by Antonio de Leyva. The general of the Papal troops was Renzo da Ceri, of the Orsini; the Duke of Urbino led the Venetians, and the King of France was represented by Lautrec.⁴

The Pope gives the King of France the tenth of the revenues of the benefices of his realm, to pay the expenses of this war.⁵

Cardinal Pompeo Colonna and Ascanio Colonna and Hugo de Moncada sack the Palacio Sacro in Rome with

¹ Guicciardini, iv. 128.

² Ibid. iv. 123.

³ Ibid. iv. 152.

⁴ Leva, ii. 342 ff.; Mignet, ii. 224 ff.

⁵ Guicciardini, iv. 203; Lavissee, vol. v, pt. i, p. 260.

two thousand men, the Pope fleeing to the Castle of Sant' Angelo, all because he had turned against the Emperor.¹

The Pope makes a four-months' truce with the Spaniards and Colonne, and gives them hostages as security for his observance of it.²

Giannin de' Medici dies as a result of a musket-shot which he received from Germans in the Imperial service at Gerevolo near Peschiera.³ He was brave, but a terrible practiser of nameless vice.

The Pope sends the Duke of Vaudemont (whom he selected because he was a Lorrainer and an Angevin) with a fleet against Naples, in order to attack the Emperor by sea, and makes war on the Colonne in defiance of the treaty.⁴

Sigismund, King of Poland, with sixty thousand horse, conquers the Duke of Prussia.⁵

Diet of the Germans at Spires, where, during a discussion of the war, the French ambassadors promised that their King would bear aid against the Turk, provided the Germans would compel the Emperor to desist from waging war in Italy in order that France might subdue it.⁶

Solyman wins the battle of Mohács on August 29th with two hundred thousand men, against Louis, King of Hungary, who had only twenty-four thousand, and slays and captures folk without number. King Louis dies, being drowned in a morass, and leaves no heir.⁷

Competition for the kingdom of Hungary between the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and John Zapolya, the Voivode of Transylvania.⁸

¹ Mignet, i. 238 ff.; Leva, ii. 375 ff.

² Mignet, ii. 242-3.

³ Nov. 30. Guicciardini (iv. 198) gives the place as Borgoforte. Leva (ii. 393) says he died at Mantua.

⁴ Guicciardini, iv. 208-9.

⁵ Probably refers to Sigismund's attack on Dantzic in this year, in which he was supported, not opposed, by Albert of Prussia; cf. Koniecki, *Die Reformation in Polen*, pp. 31-2: also Count V. Krasinski, *The Reformation in Poland*, i. 118-23.

⁶ *Catalogue des Actes de François I^{er}*, vol. i, p. 446.

⁷ Sandoval, i. 566; Hammer, iii. 54; Jorga, ii. 399. Solyman's army is usually reckoned at 100,000.

⁸ Sayous, *Histoire Générale des Hongrois* (2nd ed., 1900), pp. 288 ff.

War in Siena over those who had been expelled from it.¹

Isabel, Queen of Denmark, sister of the Emperor, dies in Brussels, leaving a son who accomplished little, and two daughters of whom the first, who was called Dorothea, married the Elector Frederick, Count Palatine, and the other, who was called Christina, became the wife first of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and afterwards of the Duke of Lorraine.²

The Year 1527

The auspicious birth of Philip, who is our present king, at Valladolid on the 21st of the month of May.³

Lautrec and his companions abandon the siege of Milan because of lack of funds.⁴

Bourbon launches himself against Piacenza because the Pope, in spite of the truce, was supporting the League and waging war on the Emperor at Naples and on the Colonne in Piperno and Frosinone.⁵

The Viceroy Charles de Lannoy abandons the war which he was waging without advantage in Frosinone, and makes an eight-months' truce with the Pope in Rome, without asking advice of Bourbon or of Antonio de Leyva.⁶

The sack of Rome and capture of the Pope.⁷

Charles de Montpensier, Duke of Bourbon, dies as a result of an arquebus-shot which he received as he was entering Rome. He undertook this enterprise on his own responsibility. He was unwilling to abide by the truce the Viceroy made, unless the Pope would give him one hundred thousand ducats or more to pay for his army, which was small and without artillery.⁸

¹ Guicciardini, iv. 137 ff.

² Sandoval (i. 607) again copies Gómara almost literally.

³ Sandoval, i. 618.

⁴ On the movements of Lautrec in this year, cf. Guicciardini, iv. 261-76.

⁵ Leva, ii. 397 ff.

⁶ Mar. 15. Leva, ii. 411.

⁷ May 6. Cf. Burd, p. 164, for the authorities.

⁸ Sandoval, i. 612.

Genoa declares for the King of France, who had ardently longed for its alliance.¹

The navy of the League attacks the Emperor in Sardinia.²

The Emperor, who was much grieved at learning of the sack of Rome, sends Veyre and Friar Francisco Ximenes to liberate the Pope.³

Pavia is twice stormed, once by Lautrec and again by Antonio de Leyva.⁴

The Kings of France and England renew their league against the Emperor at Amiens.⁵

Wars in Hungary between Ferdinand and the Voivode, John Zapolya.⁶

The Voivode summons the Turks to his aid, through the instrumentality of Jerome Lasky. For this he was excommunicated by Pope Clement.⁷

The citizens of Florence expel the Medici, to the dishonour of Popes Leo and Clement. This cost them their liberty.⁸

Rebellions of Lutherans and of Catholics in Germany.⁹

Wars between the Poles and the Muscovites.¹⁰

Great raids of the Tartars in Podolia and in Poland.¹¹

The Year 1528

The challenge which was sent to the Emperor, who was at Burgos, in the month of January, by King Francis of France through his King-at-Arms Guyenne, and by King Henry of England through Clarendieux.¹² It said that if the

¹ Guicciardini, iv. 263.

² Petit, *Andrea Doria*, p. 67.

³ Sandoval, i. 616. 'Ximenes' should be 'Quifiones'.

⁴ Guicciardini, iv. 266, 336.

⁵ April 30. Mignet, ii. 318.

⁶ Sayous, pp. 289 ff.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 291 ff.; Jorga, ii. 405 ff.; Buchholtz, iii. 225 ff.

⁸ Burd, pp. 164-5.

⁹ Probably referring to Pack's plot and the events that resulted from it. Ranke, *Gesch. der deutschen Reformation*, Bk. V, cap. ii.

¹⁰ A mistake. A six-years' truce was concluded in 1526. Lavisie et Rambaud, iv. 681.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 681-3.

¹² Sandoval, i. 626 ff.; Mignet, ii. 365-87; Weiss, *Papiers d'État de*

Emperor would liberate the Dauphins for a fair price, and pay to the King of England the debts of the King of France, and not talk any more about Burgundy, King Francis would marry Queen Eleanor and the Dauphin Francis would wed the Infanta Maria of Portugal her daughter, and Henry, Duke of Orleans, would marry Mary, Princess of Wales; but that otherwise, King Francis would marry the Princess of Wales, and that both he and the King of England would wage war on the Emperor in common, to force him to liberate the Pope and abandon Italy. The written reply of the Emperor to the English herald through the Secretary, Jean Allemand, said, though at greater length, that King Henry was showing his enmity to the Emperor in a way which betokened more anger than common sense, for he had abandoned his lawful wife in disobedience to the Church; that the Emperor was not the cause of the wars of Turks, nor of those of the Christians, as they had wrongly called him, but rather a defender against the one and a resister of the other, nor was he the mover of the present war, but rather the King of France, as the King his good master knew very well, since he had declared through the Cardinal of York that Francis was the aggressor as much against the one as the other, for which reason he had proclaimed himself in London to be his enemy; and moreover, that he himself before his marriage with the Empress Isabella had asked for the hand of Mary, Princess of Wales, daughter of King Henry, who in defiance of the treaty of Windsor¹ refused to give her to him, because he desired to marry her to King James of Scotland,² his nephew; for which reason the Emperor was not obliged to pay the five thousand crowns forfeit provided for in the treaty of marriage; and also that the King of England had even opened his letters, seized the ambassador who had asked for them, and in addition to this insult had treated

Granvelle, i. 310 ff. Gómar's summary of the facts is on the whole fair and exact.

¹ Treaty of Windsor signed June 19, 1522. Cf. *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII*, vol. iii, No. 2333.

² Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxvi. 334.

him with great disrespect, and that if he desired a war he should certainly have it. To the French herald he replied that his master, King Francis, was the cause of all the wars, since he began by taking Milan from Duke Maximilian Sforza and forcing him to renounce his right to it, recking naught of the fact that the latter had received the investiture of that state from the Emperor Maximilian, who was its feudal lord and suzerain; that King Francis had infringed the treaties of Paris in making those of Noyon, being desirous rather to have the King of Spain as a son-in-law than as a brother-in-law, and therefore forced him to promise to wed two of his daughters, one of whom had been born but recently, and the other of whom was not yet alive; but that in his desire to stir up wars and rebellions, he had set at naught the treaties of Noyon, when his ambassador Lansac had demanded of the Emperor in Burgos that he give hostages in pledge of his marriage with Louise, and for the realm of Navarre, the which he was not obliged to do, because the whole affair had been set forth in the treaties of Noyon; and furthermore, that the French King had tried to capture Naples and Sicily by sending thither Count Pedro Navarro with his fleet under pretence of going to Barbary; that he had furnished soldiers and cannon to Count Robert de la Marck, for the war which he was waging in Flanders, and had sent the Seigneur de Lesparre with an army against Navarre and even Castile, and all this without his (the Emperor's) having raised men or still less waged war; that the King could neither deny nor go back on what he had promised in return for his liberty, especially since he had been captured in fair fight, and released by an honest treaty, the more so in that all which was asked of him belonged to the Emperor anyway, except the Dauphins, and that they remained in his hands rather as a reminder than as a pledge; and also over and above all this, that the French King had opposed him in the Imperial Election, in the Turkish wars, in Italian affairs, in his dealings with the Lutherans and in other important matters, and that he had not been willing to withdraw his army from Italy, as he had

recently agreed to do in Palencia,¹ nor to set Genoa free, and that he was more to blame for the capture of the Pope than he (the Emperor) because he had made such a wicked alliance, though indeed letters had already been received to say that the Pope was released and free; that he (the Emperor) had no mind to abandon Italy in order that the King might occupy it, and that as to the challenge, no captive could challenge his lord, nor a prisoner liberated on parole challenge any one without the leave of the man who liberated him; that he ought to return as he swore and promised to do, and that then he should have his sons, and that the war could go on afterwards.

King Francis sends the Emperor a challenge to mortal combat, in very soldierly fashion, which was drawn up in Paris, March 28.²

The Emperor takes counsel with the chief men of the realm about this challenge, and gives notice of acceptance to King Francis, who was at that time in Noyon with the Provost of Utrecht.³

Antonio de Leyva assaults Lodi, but fares ill there.⁴

The Emperor gives Venezuela in the Indies to the Welsers, German bankers, in pledge of payment of a loan.⁵

Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, one of Cortés' captains, sails from New Spain to the Spice Islands of the Moluccas.⁶

Hernando Cortés receives the title of Marquis del Valle de Huaxacac.⁷

Victory won by Antonio de Leyva over François de Bourbon, Count of St. Pol, at Landriano.⁸

Lautrec besieges Naples with the army of the League, which I should estimate at more than twenty-five thousand strong, though some put it at forty thousand.⁹

¹ Sept. 15, 1527. Cf. Sandoval, i. 623.

² Ibid. i. 649-50.

³ Mignet, ii. 377-80. Charles's herald was finally received in Paris.

⁴ In June. Guicciardini, iv. 314.

⁵ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 202.

⁶ Ibid., p. 423.

⁷ July 6. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 424; Sandoval, i. 672.

⁸ June 12, 1529. Guicciardini, iv. 358.

⁹ Guicciardini, iv. 302 ff. Probably Gómara meant to say 'not more than twenty-five thousand', though the B. M. MS. is identical with the Madrid one here.

Naval battle, in which Filipino Doria conquers Hugo de Moncada.¹

Rout of the army of the League and death of Lautrec, who was called the Assaulter of Cities. This gave Italy a chance to rest.²

Andrea Doria comes over to the service of the Emperor, which greatly irritated the King of France and also the Pope.³

Genoa is free, so that she can be devoted to the Emperor, with whom she has lived at peace, and grown rich beyond measure since that time.⁴

Duke Charles of Guelders loses his state by war.⁵

Philip, Landgrave of Hessen, pursues the bishops with a military force.⁶

Eight-months' truce arranged by Louise of Savoy, mother of King Francis, and Margaret of Austria, the aunt of the Emperor, at Cambray, in which it was agreed that both sides should disband their armies. This was the beginning of peace.⁷

Wars of Solyman the Turk with the Sophy Thamasp.⁸

Agostino Giustiniani, who was Bishop of Nebbio, finishes his history, which some men hold to be the work of ignorant persons.⁹

The Year 1529

The Knights of Rhodes settle at Malta.¹⁰

The operations of the Venetians and of the French against the Papalists in Apulia and Calabria more closely resemble pillage than war.¹¹

¹ Ibid. iv. 304-5.

² Ibid. iv. 326 ff.

³ Petit, pp. 86 ff.

⁴ Ibid., cap. vi.

⁵ Oct. 3. Treaty of Gorcum. Henne, iv. 193.

⁶ As a result of Dr. Pack's revelations. Ranke, Bk. V, cap. ii.

⁷ Mignet, ii. 429 ff.

⁸ This may refer to the massacre at Gallipoli of certain Persian prisoners spared by Selim. Solyman's first Persian campaign occurred in 1533-4.

⁹ Refers to the *Annals of Genoa*, which close with the year 1528. The meaning of the last clause is not at all clear, and the B. M. MS., identical with the Madrid one at this point, sheds no light on the matter. I have given what seems to me the most probable interpretation.

¹⁰ The Knights took possession Oct. 26, 1530.

¹¹ Guicciardini, iv. 326 ff.

The Emperor pledges the Spice Islands to King John III of Portugal for three hundred and fifty thousand crowns.¹

Agreement between the Emperor and the Pope, drawn up in Viterbo by the Neapolitan, Juan Antonio Muxetula, and proclaimed at Barcelona by Jerome, Bishop of Vaison.² It provided that as soon as the Emperor should be crowned he should reinstate the Medici in Florence, and give that state, together with Margaret, his natural daughter, to Alessandro de' Medici.

Peace between the Emperor Charles and Francis, King of France, concluded by the same ladies on the same terms as that of Madrid, save for three or four points, which were chiefly that there should be no more discussion about Burgundy, that the King of England should be paid with the money of the King of France, that the King of France should withdraw all his soldiers from Italy, and that he should make no more compacts with Italians or Germans against the Emperor.³

The Emperor passes over to Italy with a large fleet.⁴

Naval battle, in which Rodrigo de Portuondo was slain.⁵

Guillaume Bonnavet, Admiral of France, confirms the Peace of Cambray at Piacenza, in Lombardy, on behalf of King Francis, and assures the Emperor that nothing could be more advantageous for the King his master than to abandon Italy.⁶

The solemn entry of the Emperor into Bologna.⁷

The siege of Florence, which lasted full eleven months, and cost Pope Clement a million of gold.⁸

Juan de Urbina, who was a native of Berberana, dies.⁹

¹ Sandoval, ii. 20; Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 222.

² June 29. Mignet, ii. 437. Muxetula was Imperial ambassador at Rome. The name of the Bishop of Vaison was Selade or Scélédus.

³ Aug. 3. Mignet, ii. 444. 'The same ladies' were, of course, Louise and Margaret. Cf. note 7, p. 84.

⁴ Sailed from Barcelona July 27. Vandenesse, p. 83.

⁵ Oct. 25, 1529. Sandoval, ii. 64; Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, pp. 399, 493-507.

⁶ Vandenesse, p. 84.

⁷ Nov. 5. Vandenesse, p. 85.

⁸ Guicciardini, iv. 378 ff.

⁹ Sandoval (ii. 77) copies this paragraph almost literally.

He was large, heavy, and coarse in body, but of clear understanding, liberal in almsgiving, pious, never swore, and also severely punished blasphemers; indeed, he was on the whole a most virtuous man, save that he gambled too much. War and a soldier's life taught him how to slay, smite, and take advantage of his enemies, and to seize their goods. He was wise in counsel, and a man of many stratagems; he never showed fear, although Jovius says he had known him to be afraid at the time of the sack of Genoa, but that was because of the artillery, and not because of the men. Juan de Urbina, you must know, passed over to Italy with the Great Captain as a soldier, and on every occasion gave proofs of valour, for which reason he was one of the three who fought in personal combat with three Italians when our army lay near Rosano; the cause of the combat being a dispute as to which side served the greater King. Captains Diego de Quiñones and Luis de Via Campo¹ accepted the challenge, and took Juan de Urbina along with them, though he, who knew his business, was unwilling to accompany them without first stipulating with his adversaries that he should go in that capacity. They fought on foot, each with whatsoever arms he chose to select, except arquebuses, which the Italians had specially excluded by agreement, and as they were all brave they fought well. Juan de Urbina conquered his adversary, and, taking from him his arms, ran up to Quiñones (who, though the tendon of his leg was broken and his knee was on the ground, was fighting marvellously well) and conquered his opponent also. He then helped Via Campo¹ to defeat the third. After that Urbina was regarded as the best soldier in Italy, but as the war in Naples ended soon afterwards, he was unable to rise. He then went to Rome, and settled down as a halberdier with Diego García de Paredes, Juan de Vargas, Pizarro, Zamudio, and Villalba, all of whom were afterwards well known for their ability in war, although they were biding their time at that moment, and leading dissolute lives. At that time Pope Julius was raising an

¹ Sandoval has 'Luys de Vera'.

army against a certain rebel, and Juan de Urbina entered it as standard-bearer to Diego García de Paredes; and afterwards he fought against the Duke of Urbino, so that at last he became captain at Bologna, when the French conquered it; and he was also in the battle of Ravenna, where he remained in sorry plight among the dead bodies. He was also in the affair of Vicenza, and in all the other wars in Lombardy against the French. When Lautrec besieged Milan with the army of the League, Juan de Urbina was general on the field of battle, and on one occasion, as he was going forth to a skirmish with his enemies at San Columban, he passed, quite alone, close to where five Italians were stabbing a Spaniard, who, recognizing him, called out, 'See how they are killing me, Señor Juan de Urbina.' He, on hearing his name called, went to rescue the man, although he had not intended to do so. The five Italians turned their faces to him after having knocked over the Spaniard, and at first pressed him very hard, but soon afterwards two of them left him to return to the fallen man, who was getting up, and then Juan de Urbina slew two of the three who remained to fight with him, and with the partisan of one of them put to flight the others, who were killing the soldier and were in fear of being slain also. He gathered up their arms as a proof of his victory, and returned to Milan, wounded in the breast by a stroke of a partisan, and with a knife-thrust in the cheek, and another small cut in the sword-hand, and so covered with blood that he was unrecognizable; it was a fortunate escape, so that he used to say that the thing to do in all important crises was to call on some one by name. He encouraged the soldiers to enter Rome after the death of Bourbon, and when the soldiers, who had mutinied at Nola after being withdrawn from Naples, owing to the action of Lautrec, demanded their pay, he cut off the arm of Captain Salzedo in the presence of his colonel, the Marquis del Vasto, because Salzedo had laid on him the blame for the mutiny; it was a most audacious act, although he was not to blame for it.¹

¹ On this incident cf. Jovius, ii. 30.

He performed some notable deeds in the siege of Naples, and on another occasion, when he accidentally met with Pedro Navarro, who was coming on to besiege Florence, he was killed near Ispello by an arquebus-shot, the ball passing through his leg below the knee. They carried his body to Naples to be buried in the Church of Our Lady de Pie de Gruta, in a bronze tomb which afterwards was destroyed by the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo to make cannon with. The Emperor, who sent for him, made him Commendador de Heliche, Alcaide of Ovo and of Aversa, and Marquis of Oyra, but he took small pleasure in these honours. Juan de Urbina then was very fortunate and highly honoured, save by his wife, but he revenged himself amply, for he slew her, with everything else he found alive in her house.

Solyman besieges Vienna in vain with one hundred and fifty thousand men, though some put it at two hundred and fifty thousand, and others at five hundred thousand. Philip, Duke of Bavaria, defended it, and had Spaniards under him. Although Solyman could not capture the city, it is said that he carried off seventy thousand prisoners from Hungary.¹

The Year 1530

The Emperor Charles V is crowned in Bologna by the Pope, Clement VII, on Saint Matthias' Day, because it was his birthday, and with greater pomp and magnificence and a larger assemblage, especially on the part of the Spanish knights, than ever Emperor was crowned with before.²

The Preste John David promises obedience to the Pope as head of the Church of Jesus Christ.³

Liberation of the Dauphins, who were handed over by the constable, Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, and M. de

¹ Cf. Hammer, iii. 81-94; Buchholtz, iii. 285 ff. The usual estimates of the Turkish army vary between 200,000 and 300,000 men.

² Feb. 24. Vandenesse, pp. 86-94; Romano, *Cronaca del Soggiorno di Carlo Quinto in Italia*.

³ This was in 1533. Cf. Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (ed. Venice, 1588), vol. i, pp. 255-61; also *Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia* in Hakluyt Soc., Series II, vol. 10, pp. xxxviii, lxxxiii ff., 129.

Praedt, the most intimate adviser of the Emperor, to the Cardinal François de Tournon and Anne de Montmorency, at that time Grand Master of King Francis.¹

The marriage of King Francis and Queen Eleanor, celebrated by the Cardinal Tournon in an abbey near Bayonne.²

All the grape-vines in Castile are frozen in April.

The Emperor holds a diet in Augsburg,³ chiefly to discuss religion and the war against the Turk, who was coming on in great force.

Margaret, who was the wife of Prince John, dies.⁴

Queen Maria of Hungary becomes Regent of Flanders.⁵

Florence loses her liberty with the return of the Medici.⁶

War waged by Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, against Gian Giacomo de Medicino, who afterwards was Marquis of Marignano and a most excellent leader.⁷

In order to have peace in Italy the Emperor gives the Duchy of Milan to Francesco Sforza in return for nine thousand crowns which he had spent in the war.⁸

The Emperor receives the Venetians as friends, and their friendship endures to this day.⁹

William of Rogendorf, leader of the troops of King Ferdinand, fights at Buda with thirty thousand men and a good lot of Spaniards led by Luis de la Cueva, but the Voivode and Lodovico Gritti successfully defended it.¹⁰

Truce for one year between Ferdinand and John Zapolya, the two Kings of Hungary, with the consent of the Turk, who favoured the Voivode's side.¹¹

This year or thereabouts there was found in the Canaries

¹ July 1, 1530. Sandoval, ii. 91 ff.; Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency*, i. 141-62.

² July 7, in the Abbaye des Clarisses de Beyries, near Mont-de-Marsan; Decrue, i. 162.

³ Opened June 20. Cf. Armstrong, i. 235 n., for the authorities on this Diet.

⁴ Nov. 30.

⁵ Henne, v. 127-8, 139.

⁶ Leva, ii. 523 ff.

⁷ In 1531. Cf. Leva, iii. 87-8.

⁸ Dec. 23, 1529. Leva, ii. 587 ff.

⁹ Dec. 23, 1529. Leva, ii. 591 ff.

¹⁰ Huber (iv. 33) places Rogendorf's army at 10,000 men.

¹¹ Ibid., iv. 34; Buchholtz, iv. 75.

a dead whale which contained sixteen *arrobas* of ambergris, and there was also seen an old and bearded Triton, according to the story which Bishop Alonzo de Virnes wrote to García Vechoa in Valladolid.

The Year 1531

Ferdinand, King of Hungary, is made King of the Romans.¹

Alessandro de' Medici is made Duke of Florence with immunity from Imperial jurisdiction.²

Pope Clement also subdues Ancona, which was living as a republic, without any shedding of blood.³

The great earthquake of Lisbon and the ensuing mortality.⁴

John Zapolya and Lodovico Gritti besiege Gran, and the Turks make raids as far as Vienna.⁵

The sea breaks and dashes over the embankments, which they call dykes, of Holland, Zeeland, and Flanders, more than ever it was seen to do before, and wrought great damage.⁶

King Francis of France forbids the sale of wheat except in market-places, in order to bring down its price.⁷

Civil war among the Swiss cantons concerning Lutheranism, in the which occurred five battles.⁸

A man was presented to Pope Clement who did not eat for the space of fifteen days or even twenty, a most miraculous thing, which would have astonished us, except that he was really a fraud, so great is the power of habit; and indeed the Pope said when he finished the war against Florence, which cost him much, that it would be an advantage to have an army composed of such men. In Moral, a village of Maderuelo, there is a rich farmer who never ate flesh,

¹ Jan. 5.

² Guicciardini, iv. 403.

³ Leva, iii. 102.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 108.

⁵ Jorga, ii. 414-15, 416 n.; Buchholtz, iv. 109 n.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 107.

⁷ This was in 1532. Cf. Lavisce, vol. v, pt. i, pp. 275-6.

⁸ Battle of Cappel, Oct. 11.

though he possessed a herd of cattle, nor drank wine, nor covered his head or his feet. I also saw this year in Rome a man who sewed, cut, threaded a needle, and wrote and sealed letters with his feet, counted, and picked up the coins that were thrown to him, played dice, and cheated at the game; in fact, his feet were like hands in their skill and ability to gain a livelihood.¹

Francisco Pizarro founds S. Miguel of Tangarara, which was the first settlement of Spaniards in Peru.²

The Year 1532

Solyman, the Grand Turk, arrives before Vienna with the biggest army of our time or that ever any Turk had, for he knew that the Emperor was in Germany. He brought three hundred thousand combatants with him, and more than one hundred thousand of them horsemen, and at least one hundred and twenty cannon. Others place it at two hundred thousand and others at five hundred thousand, and Pedro Mejía at six hundred thousand, but that figure is doubtless meant to include all sorts of people.³

In order to exhibit his magnificence Solyman entered Belgrade clothed in a scarlet garment embroidered with gold, with a dagger and scimitar of enormous value, and mounted on a bay horse richly caparisoned. There came after him the viziers Cassim and Arpas, and Ibrahim Pasha, his man of confidence, and after them twelve thousand courtiers and officials of his household and court. Before him there had entered four thousand horsemen with the standard

¹ Sandoval, ii. 104. After copying Gómara almost literally for several lines Sandoval adds: 'Escribió estas memorias un Español curioso que notó todo lo que vió y oyó en sus días'; and then quotes the words of the text from 'Moral' in line 21 to 'caperuça' in line 23.

² In May, 1532. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 227; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i. 358.

³ Huber, iv. 39-40; Hammer, iii. 108. The latter estimates the Turkish army at 200,000, and gives good reasons to support this view. Mejía's figure is doubtless to be found in his *Historia del Emperador Carlos Quinto*, which is unpublished, save for the second book on the *Comunidades de Castilla*. Cf. *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. xxi, pp. xiii-xiv, 367-407.

on which the portrait of Mohammed was painted, and four thousand Janizaries of his guard, one hundred and fifty slaves with lances and coats of blue satin adorned with cloth of silver, and fifty carts with dark brown coverings, each one drawn by four horses, in which were carried the treasure, the wardrobe, and some of his beautiful and beloved ladies. Espanaciel of Macedonia guarded them with four thousand horsemen, two hundred horses led by the bridle, a hundred pages of the chamber on beautiful horses, with coats of cloth of gold and hats of scarlet adorned with gold and silver and white feathers, twelve of them with helmets inlaid with precious stones and pearls, each one of which was worth one hundred and forty thousand crowns, a thousand lackeys with coats of blue silk embroidered with silver, and coifs of gold with white feathers, who carried bows and quivers of arrows, and one hundred fierce dogs held in leash, and birds of the chase.

The Emperor gathered together one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers and over thirty thousand horsemen at his own expense and that of the King his brother and of Pope Clement, which was without doubt the biggest army of our time; and he would have no Lutherans for fear they might contaminate the Catholics or aid the Turks. He had twelve thousand Spaniards with the Marquis del Vasto, and Antonio de Leyva was his counsellor-in-chief for the war.¹

Ignominious and stealthy retreat of the Grand Turk, leaving behind him sixty thousand men whom he had lost, and burning the bridges for fear of being pursued, and when the Emperor arrived at Vienna he was already forty leagues away. It is said that it was at the advice and counsel of certain Christian friends of his that he avoided a battle.²

The valorous defence of Güns by Nicholas Jurischitz

¹ Cf. Buchholtz, iv. 103 ff.; Huber, iv. 40-1. Sandoval (ii. 117) follows Gómara closely for the most part, but places the numbers of the army at 300,000.

² Buchholtz, iv. 111 ff. Sandoval (ii. 117) puts the Turkish losses at 70,000. The literal translation of 'senserros atapados' in the text is, of course, 'muffled bells.'

against thirteen assaults delivered in twenty days by Ibrahim Pasha with his Turks and Janizaries.¹

The most Christian King of France was unwilling to bear aid against the Turk, which lost him much reputation, despite his giving as a reason the fact that he had not been made commander-in-chief.²

The war at Choron in Greece which Andrea Doria conducted for the Emperor.³

The capture in Caxamarca of Atahualpa, the exceedingly rich King of Cuzco; indeed, he gave more than two millions for his ransom.⁴

Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of Villa Franca, is made Vice-roy of Naples, on account of the death of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who died from eating early figs in snow.⁵

The Danes capture their King, Christian, but promise under oath to do him no harm. He was attacking them with an army and a fleet which the Emperor gave him.⁶

Kings Francis and Henry meet for diplomatic purposes, first at Boulogne and then at Calais.⁷

The Year 1533

A new alliance, stated to be defensive, is concluded in Bologna between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of the Romans, the Duke of Milan, Ferrara, and Florence, and the Seigniories of Venice, Genoa, Siena, and Lucca, for a year and a half. Antonio de Leyva, who was dwelling in Milan, was appointed general.⁸

The Emperor removes from Italy the army of Spaniards, and thus did much for the cause of peace, for he granted in

¹ Hammer, iii. 110 ff.; Buchholtz, iv. 101 ff.

² Lavissee et Rambaud, iv. 721-38.

³ Sandoval, ii. 125 ff.; Petit, p. 145.

⁴ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 229, puts it in 1533. The correct date is Nov. 16, 1532. Cf. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i. 421 ff.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 125.

⁶ Ibid., Schäfer, *Geschichte Dänemarks*, vol. v, pp. 172-204.

⁷ Sandoval, ii. 125, and Hamy, *Entrevue de Francois I^{er} avec Henri VIII.*

⁸ Feb. 27. *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, ii. pp. 7-19; Leva, iii. 106-7.

response to requests what he was unwilling to yield when threatened, so proud was he.¹

García de Paredes, who never had an equal in strength and courage, dies in Bologna.² He was a soldier in Cephalonia with the Great Captain, but afterwards quarrelled and fought in his own land with Ruy Sanchez de Vargas, as a result of which he fled to Rome and enlisted as halberdier of Pope Julius II with Juan de Urbina, Juan de Vargas, Pizarro, Zamudio, and Villalba, who were all colonels, as they were then called, although they were living a life of violence. He was one of the eleven who fought in Trani in the combat against the eleven Frenchmen, and defeated his adversary. One day, when casting the bar, a Roman knight challenged him to a contest for one hundred crowns. García Paredes was very proficient at this sport, and told the Roman that he would throw for fun, but the other, who desired to bet, replied that such an action would not be to his honour. Then García gave him the lie and slew five men with his javelin, a feat which put all Rome up in arms, so that García had to take refuge with his cousin, Cardinal Don Bernardino de Carvajal, who not only liberated him from this affair, but also made him captain of the infantry in the army which Julius was sending against Montefiascone, which was in rebellion. He took to the war as standard-bearer Juan de Urbina, and as sergeant his brother, Alvaro de Paredes, and as heads of squadrons Villalba, Pizarro, and Zamudio. It was through his efforts that place was taken, for he broke the gate down. In the war against the Duke of Ferrara he shouted 'España' in a skirmish and conquered, and because of this war-cry his captain, Cesaro Romano, reviled him as a traitor, but he gave him the lie and slew him on the field of battle, for which reason the Pope commanded that he be imprisoned, but he escaped by slaying two jailors and fled to the Duke, who, realizing his

¹ Robertson, *Charles the Fifth*, i. 624 (ed. Routledge s. d.).

² Paredes died in 1530. Gómara closely follows the 'Breve Suma de la Vida y Hechos de Diego García de Paredes', by Paredes; cf. *Nuev. Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, vol. x, pp. 255-9.

valour, gave him the command of the company whose captain he had slain shortly before, and with it he did good things. He was an officer at Ravenna, after which there took place an encounter with the French, as he was passing by Fano, in which he lost two hundred soldiers and slew six hundred enemies. When four adversaries captured him and were carrying him off, tightly bound, he threw himself into a river with them as they were passing over an open bridge. He escaped by swimming, and they were all drowned. He fought in closed lists with the Colonel Palomino because the latter said that he had lost more honour than he had gained in the fight with the French; both of them fought in socks and shirt with a sword in each hand, and he had for his second Perucho de Garro¹; and although he received a good slash, he cut off Palomino's right hand, and when he held his life in his hands he turned him over to Prospero Colonna,² judge of the field. Afterwards Palomino denied that he had been defeated, and said that García would never return to fight again. García answered that Palomino must go forth to the fight in exactly the same condition as he had left it, while he himself tore off the bandages from the hand which he was nursing, which was a chivalrous act, but they did not fight. After that there was a tourney, with the consent of the sovereigns, between twelve Frenchmen and twelve Spaniards, who were Diego García de Paredes, Villalba, Pizarro, Andana, Santa Cruz, Juan de Haro, Juan de Gomado, Alvarado, two captains of men-at-arms, and two Italians. The Spaniards won, the said García slaying two Frenchmen who were brothers. Upon this a brother of these two captains desired to fight to the death with García, with fair and equal arms. García de Paredes, as the challenged man, chose to go forth armed cap-à-pie, with maces and swords. The Frenchman, being unable to lift the mace, which was very heavy, appeared

¹ Paredes (p. 257) has 'Fué mi padrino Juan de Gomado, maestre de campo; fué suyo Perucho de Garro'.

² Paredes (p. 257) says he gave him up to the Great Captain.

with the sword alone, thinking that his adversary could do no more himself, and gave him a stab in the thigh-piece, which wounded him. García then gave him a stroke with the mace which sank his helmet into his brain so that it killed him. After that he won three more combats within the space of two months, with friends and enemies, for all brave men desired to measure their skill with his, so that he undertook eleven¹ duels in closed lists and won them all, which no other man has done in our day and generation. It is also said that when some knights were discussing in the royal hall whether the Great Captain gave a good account of his expenses or not, García placed a glove on the table and said that he would fight to the death with any man who dared to pick it up, if he said that the Great Captain was not the best servant that the Catholic King ever had. He was colonel of eleven companies when Navarre was conquered, and in the affairs of Fuentarrabía and Béarn and Salvatierra.² When the Emperor was going to Piacenza from Genoa he threatened the Count of Nassau, who, at the command of the Emperor, was drawing up the troops, and had wanted to put him out of the squadron of the knights because he was not properly armed. The Count complained, but his Majesty told him that that was Diego García de Paredes, who was worth more without arms than another man would be with them.³ In Soria he broke a pimp's head with a bench, and threw another into the fire, and two women afterwards, so that one of them died; also two low fellows who were laughing at him and asking for the food his servants had cooked for a gentleman. On one occasion, when he was in a tavern on his return from the Turkish war near Vienna, a number of others attempted to eject him from it, but he defended the inn against them, and wounded and even slew some of his opponents.⁴ Diego García Paredes was a tall man with a large face, and one who was made more of bones than of

¹ Paredes (p. 258) says 'nine'.

² Paredes (p. 258) has Urdabia, Monléon de Sola, and Salvatierra.

³ This passage is not in Paredes.

⁴ Cf. Paredes, pp. 258-9.

flesh, and a great eater. He used to sleep with his wife with his sword unsheathed in his chamber, because of the number of enemies and quarrels that he had. His enemies gave him poisoned herbs, and put spells upon them, so that he was afraid to eat some things, and indeed on many occasions he completely lost control of himself, a fact which explains his failure to attain to greater dignities.

The Emperor returns to Spain greatly honoured and victorious.¹

King Francis negotiates with the Germans against the Emperor, especially with Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg, and thus infringed the treaties.²

King Francis commands that seven legions of soldiers be levied in the seven provinces of France, which made more than two score thousand men, but they were not permanent.³

Elizabeth, Princess of Wales, is born, the daughter of King Henry of England and Anne Boleyn.⁴

Interview of the Pope with King Francis and Queen Eleanor in Marseilles,⁵ concerning the marriage of his niece, Catharine de' Medici, with the son of King Francis, Henry, the Duke of Orleans (they are King and Queen in France to-day); and also because the French King had hopes of getting Milan, which was already inclining towards the Emperor, because he gave his verdict in the affair of Modena and Reggio in favour of Duke Alfonso di Ferrara.⁶ The King at that time told the Pope that he neither desired peace nor a Council unless they would give him Milan, and that not only he would not prevent, but that he would actually further the coming of the Turk.

The Turks wage war in Persia, to their own detriment.⁷

¹ Sandoval, ii. 128.

² In 1534. Cf. Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 80, and V. L. Bourrilly in *Bull. de la Soc. de l'Hist. du Prot. fr.* for 1900-1, vol. xlix, pp. 337 ff., 477 ff., vol. l, pp. 225 ff.

³ Ordonnance du 24 juillet, 1534. Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 85; Decrue, i. 240-1. Each legion was to be composed of 6,000 men.

⁴ Sept. 7. ⁵ Sandoval, ii. 128-30; Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 77.

⁶ On this cf. Guicciardini, iv. 403.

⁷ Hammer, iii. 141 ff. Jorga (ii. 362) says that there were Spanish soldiers in the Persian army.

The Danes seize their King Christian, and his son dies.¹

The Year 1534

The Cortes of Madrid, among other things, forbid the use of mules for riding, in order that there may be more horses for the wars, and this regulation was observed for some years, and to such an extent that certain mules paid the penalty in Valladolid and in other towns for justice' sake.² The Catholic Kings also forbade them forty years before, and this regulation was observed while the Queen lived, in conformity with a law of the Partidas which commands that knights ride on horseback for honour's and tradition's sake.

Sebastian de Benalcasar, lieutenant of Francisco Pizarro, who was afterwards governor of Popayan, conquers and settles Quito. He had previously been a muleteer, and because he had been unable to pay for a few donkeys he had fled to the Indies. Such a rise is the sort of thing which in this world is called good luck.³

Philip, the Landgrave of Hessen, makes war on Ferdinand, King of the Romans, with funds supplied by King Francis.⁴

Pope Clement VII dies, a man of ingenuous mind, who used to say that the world was governed with little sense, a statement which shows his wide experience and is well worthy of consideration.⁵ He was niggardly and revengeful against those of the party opposed to him, and therefore destroyed his enemies and made himself master of their lands, though he also did this from ambition. He greatly ennobled his family, the Medici, who were already powerful through their own efforts, and made his nephew Duke of Florence, and his niece Queen of France, but he experienced

¹ In 1532. Cf. *ante*, note 6, p. 93.

² *Cortes de Leon y Castilla*, iv. 625 ff. Sandoval (ii. 134) copies Gómara's account.

³ In March. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 234; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 16 ff.

⁴ Battle of Lauffen, May 12-13.

⁵ Sept. 25. Sandoval, ii. 133. Jovius (ii. 300) gives an interesting sketch of Clement's character.

much adversity, for he suffered great dishonour at the hands of the Florentines. He saw Rome twice sacked, and was himself captured.

Election of Pope Paul III, a native of Rome, without the votes being counted.¹

Kheir-ed-Din Barbarossa is King of Tunis.² Lodovico Gritti, who was half a Turk, dies as he deserved.³

Alfonso da Este, Duke of Ferrara, dies.⁴ He was very famous as a man of war, and knew how to preserve his own possessions, although in order to do this he changed from alliance with one sovereign to alliance with another, and was blamed for so doing.

King Henry VIII styles himself Head of the Church of England, and seizes all the ecclesiastical revenues and tithes.⁵

The Schmalkaldic League of Lutherans and Catholics of which the Landgrave was the moving spirit.⁶

A great battle, and afterwards a good peace between the adherents of the Sophy and the Tartars.

Solyman enters Babylon, victorious.⁷

A great slaughter and rout of the Turks made by Delmiantes, one of the commanders of Shah Thamasp, who already had Spaniards and artillery in his armies.⁸

The Year 1535

The war against the Turks waged by the Emperor.⁹

The Emperor visits his realms of Sicily and Naples.¹⁰

¹ In the night of Oct. 12-13. Jovius, ii. 303 'non con le polizze de' voti segnate, & come si costuma messe in un calice, ma con publico consentimento, & con chiarissima voce di tutto il Collegio'; also Leva, iii. 139.

² Sandoval, ii. 139 ff.; Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, pp. 412 ff. Barbarossa captured Tunis in August, 1533.

³ Huber, iv. 49-52.

⁴ Oct. 31.

⁵ The title of Supreme Head was recognized by the clergy in February, 1531. The second Act of Annates was passed Mar. 16, 1534.

⁶ Formed in December, 1530. There were, of course, no Catholics in it; 'y' in the text may be a slip for 'contra'.

⁷ A mistake for Bagdad, which Solyman entered Dec. 30. Cf. Jorga, ii. 364.

⁸ Jovius, ii. 346-7.

⁹ This refers to the expedition against Tunis. Sandoval, ii. 155-216.

¹⁰ Charles was in Sicily Aug. 22 to Nov. 2, 1535, and in Naples Nov. 2 to April 1, 1536. Cf. Vandenesse, pp. 115-16.

The founding of Lima, which they call Ciudad de los Reyes.¹

Diego de Almagro enters Chili with an army.

Iñigo López de Mendoza y Zúñiga² dies. He was a rich Cardinal and Bishop of Burgos, and left a college in that city.

The sister-Queens Eleanor and Maria have an interview in Cambray.³

The war of Pope Paul in Perugia.⁴

Death of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, whose life was an example of good and bad fortune.⁵ With him the lordship and lineage of the Sforze and Visconti came to an end.

Milan reverts to the Emperor.⁶

Catharine, Queen of England, dies, a worthy but unfortunate woman.⁷ She wedded two brothers by virtue of a dispensation from Pope Julius. She was treated badly by her father-in-law, who in order to force her mother to marry him, gave her little or nothing to eat, and fared even worse with her second husband, who in order to marry his lady-in-waiting put her away. She was very beautiful, so that King Henry VIII laboured hard to obtain her for his wife. She died happy in leaving such an excellent daughter as is Queen Mary, our Lady.

The Pope treats with all the princes of Christendom against the Turk, but does not accomplish anything with King Francis, because the latter demands Naples and Milan.⁸

King Francis seizes half the revenues of the French benefices, on the ground that he was going to recover Milan, now that its Duke was dead.⁹

¹ Jan. 6. Cf. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 236; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 24.

² Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 17, puts Mendoza's death June 9, 1539.

³ Aug. 16. Cf. *Spanish Calendar*, vol. v, p. 538.

⁴ This doubtless refers to the Camerino War. *Span. Cal.*, v. 512-13; Leva, iii. 141.

⁵ Nov. 1. Leva, iii. 152.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 220; Leva, iii. 152-3.

⁷ Jan. 7, 1536. Sandoval, ii. 223. 'Mother' in the text is of course a mistake for 'sister', i. e. Joanna the Mad. Cf. also *ante*, p. 26, n. 9.

⁸ Sandoval, ii. 219, 223; Lavissee, V. ii. 81.

⁹ Lavissee, V. i. 260.

King Francis addresses a letter to all the Germans, maliciously throwing the blame for the Lutheran heresies and the Turkish wars on the Emperor, and on his brother, the King of the Romans, and saying that he (Francis) was arranging a universal peace for all Christendom with the Turk.¹

Philippe Chabot enters Savoy with an army, saying that he would straightway show what rights his lord, King Francis, had to that state.²

War between King Sigismund of Poland and King Vasili of Muscovy.³

Solyman, the Grand Turk, slays his deeply beloved Ibrahim, the which may serve as a lesson for the intimate advisers of sovereigns. They say that never did favourite exercise an equal influence over his lord in war, or peace, or enjoy such authority or favour, as did he. His fall was caused as much by his great wealth, as by his powerful influence; and indeed he (who was no fool) used to ask Solyman not to give him so much power, so many offices, and so much property, saying that Kings ought not to give away to one person what they took or asked from many. Ibrahim was a renegade from the Christian faith in his childhood, and rose to be Grand Vizier, than which the Turk can grant no higher office.⁴

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo publishes the first part of the *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, which was well received.⁵

The Anabaptists do great damage, but they pay for it thoroughly.⁶

Violent religious war rages in Denmark and in England.⁷

¹ Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay*, pp. 202 ff.

² In March, 1536. Leva, iii. 161.

³ Vasili died in 1533. This probably refers to the Polish Hetman's capture of Starodub in this year.

⁴ Mar. 16, 1536. Sandoval, ii. 220; Jovius, ii. 349; Hammer, iii. 159-63. Gómara follows Jovius closely.

⁵ In Seville. Cf. Introduction, p. xxxiii.

⁶ Münster fell June 24.

⁷ The Pilgrimage of Grace began in October, 1536.

The Year 1536

King Francis most earnestly begs Milan of the Emperor for his third son, Charles.¹

The Admiral Philippe Chabot despoils Duke Charles of Savoy of all his estates.²

The Emperor enters Rome, where he is tendered a most magnificent reception, and having arranged about the Council, he spoke publicly to the Pope, the Cardinals and other prelates and ambassadors against King Francis as the causer and prime mover of all the wars, and challenged him to personal combat, in order that another war might be avoided.³

King Francis replied ambiguously and weakly to the plain reasoning of the Emperor, and as to the personal combat, answered that his sword was too short to reach enemies so remote.

The Emperor takes the road for France with eleven thousand hired soldiers, and eleven thousand Spaniards, without much other cavalry; he also had the fleet on the sea. He undertook very little, however, because of the mortality among the troops, and other difficulties which the war brought in its train. Many horses also died of flies. Both here and in the war of Tunis, it was felt to be an advantage to drink cold water, although the soldiers had diarrhoea as a result.⁴

Antonio de Leyva dies in Aix in France, though he had objected to going there for cogent reasons, and because certain soothsayers had told him that he would be buried in the church of San Dionysius, though it turned out to be the one at Milan, and not the one in Paris.⁵ He went to Italy as lieutenant of the company of men-at-arms led by his uncle, Sancho Martinez de Leyva, who was chief steward of

¹ Sandoval, ii. 223; Leva, iii. 155.

² Leva, iii. 161-2, and note 2, p. 101.

³ April 5. Sandoval, ii. 226; Vandenesse, pp. 117 ff.

⁴ Leva, iii. 168.

⁵ Sandoval (ii. 232) copies this passage from Gómara almost word for word.

the Emperor, together with Luis Portocarrero, Señor de Palma, when he brought aid to the Great Captain at Naples. He gave evidence in the war there of what he was afterwards to become, and still more in the war in Lombardy, when Pope Leo expelled the French from it. He won a reputation at Pavia when Francis, King of France, besieged him the year he was captured; he increased it in Milan when he forced Duke Francesco Sforza to yield, and defended himself against Lautrec and obtained and retained that Duchy. He went to Vienna at the time that the Turk besieged it, being summoned there by the Emperor, and was desired to take command there because of his ability. The Pope, the Emperor, and the Venetians, and the members of the offensive¹ League which was made in Bologna, selected him as their leader, as the best man that there was in Italy. He was governor in Milan after the death of the Duke Francesco Sforza. He came to France as chief adviser in that war, and died there of pains in his joints. He was always a good leader, and never gave the appearance of being beaten, though he often was;² and moreover he was usually carried in a litter, for, being crippled in his legs and hands, he never rode on horseback. All men wondered at him wherever he went, when they heard that one who was thus carried around was such a valiant and excellent captain. He was called 'Your Lordship', because of his great valour and ability, and even the Emperor did not omit to give him this title, which was an honourable renown, although the reason that men began to to call him by this name was that he had not been given any important title or office at the beginning of his career. In return for his virtues and services he was given the Principality of Ascoli and Monza and other things besides. He was very rich, and so was able to leave almost one hundred thousand³ crowns to his daughter, Doña Costança, who married Francisco de la Cueva, Marquis of Cuéllar; and

¹ *Sic* for 'defensive', as in Sandoval. Cf. note 8, p. 93.

² B.M. MS. has here 'vençiendo muchas vezes' ('and was often victorious').

³ 200,000 in Sandoval.

this was the first great dowry, of our day and generation in Spain, save for the great entailed estates. Certainly Antonio de Leyva would have been worthy of comparison with the great captains of ancient times, if he had been without vices, but he was rough, cruel, avaricious, and a believer in augury, as Jacobo de Valgrana, who, as I understand, wrote his life, should relate;¹ but the rose grows on a thorny plant, and it is only by a miracle that great virtue exists without accompanying vice.

Count Guy of Anjou attempts to capture Genoa for the King of France, with ten thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horse.²

Henry, Count of Nassau, Marquis of Zenete and Imperial Chamberlain, fights at Péronne with seven thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry.³

Manco Inca, with one hundred thousand Indians, besieges Cuzco, in which there were one hundred and fifty Spaniards.⁴

The holy war which certain Englishmen waged against their King for religion's sake, and which cost them dear.⁵

The Turk sustains heavy losses in the war which he waged against the Sophy.⁶

Doctor Juan Gines de Sepúlveda is given the title of official chronicler in Rome.⁷

The Year 1537

Lorenzino de' Medici treacherously slays his cousin, Alessandro, Duke of Florence, on the plea that he was a tyrant.⁸ Lorenzino afterwards died in exile and poverty, and even the Turk was unwilling to listen to him.

¹ I have been unable to trace Valgrana's book.

² Sandoval, ii. 232; Leva, iii. 172 ff.

³ Sandoval, ii. 229; Lavissee, V. ii. 91; Henne, iv. 10, vi. 119 ff.

⁴ In February. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 237; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 51.

⁵ The Pilgrimage of Grace.

⁶ Jorga, ii. 364.

⁷ Cf. 'Vita Sepulvedae' in *Opéra* (ed. Madrid, 1780), vol. i, pp. xxx-xxxii.

⁸ Jan. 7. Sandoval, ii. 240; Leva, iii. 221.

Many wars in Piedmont between the French and the Spaniards, Don Antonio de Avalos, Marquis del Vasto, being governor of Milan.¹

The Dauphin Henry, and immediately after him Francis, his father, go to the wars in Piedmont.²

The Count of Nassau captures Montreuil and besieges Théroouanne with over thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse.³

King Francis takes Hesdin with thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.⁴

Ten months' truce, which was the beginning of peace, arranged by Queen Eleanor and Madeleine, sister of King Francis, on the one side, and by Maria, Queen of Hungary and Regent of the Netherlands on the other.⁵

Solyman tries to obtain the Island of Corfu from his friends, the Venetians.⁶

The Year 1538

The Pope comes to Nice, the Emperor to Villefranche, and King Francis to Villeneuve, which are all close to one another. The three never met at one place, for the Pope avoided this, nor did they conclude peace, but instead a ten years' truce, which was enough.⁷

Interview of the Emperor and of King Francis at Aigues Mortes where they dined together with Queen Eleanor and other ladies and knights. This was a notable event after the insults, wars, and challenges that had passed between them.⁸

In France and soon after in Castile the use of the little copper coins of the money of Béarn is forbidden.⁹

¹ Sandoval, ii. 244 ff. 'Antonio' should be 'Alonzo'.

² Sandoval, ii. 244 ff.; Decrue, i. 282. This was in 1536.

³ Sandoval, ii. 243-4; Henne, vi. 195-7.

⁴ April 7. Sandoval, ii. 242-3; Decrue, i. 301-2.

⁵ Truces of Bomy (July 30) and of Monçon (Nov. 16). Leva, iii. 234.

⁶ Jorga, ii. 380 ff.

⁷ June 18. *Spanish Calendar*, vol. v, pt. ii. p. 206; Sandoval, ii. 257-9; Leva, iii. 239 ff.

⁸ July 14. *Ibid.*

⁹ Cf. Isambert, *Recueil des anciennes lois françaises*, vol. xii, pp. 548-9.

The civil war and battle in which Hernando Pizarro conquered Rodrigo Orgoño.¹

The wretched death of Diego de Almagro at the hands of the adherents of Pizarro.²

Peranzures settles La Plata, a place in Peru very rich in mines.³

The famous battle of Prevesa between the Christian and Turkish fleets, which were the greatest that have been collected in our days.⁴

The Kingdom of Frisia falls to the Emperor on the death of Charles of Egmont, Duke of Guelders.⁵

Wars of King Ferdinand with the Turks.⁶

King Ferdinand and the Voivode, John Zapolya, who also is called King of Hungary, make friends on the understanding that on Zapolya's death the whole realm should go to Ferdinand.⁷

Interview of King Francis and Queen Maria in Cambray.⁸

Marriage of Ottavio Farnese with Margaret, the daughter of the Emperor, who was the wife of Alessandro, Duke of Florence.⁹

The Turks continue the war in Greece with the Venetians.¹⁰

Solyman Pasha, the eunuch, besieges Diu, a city of the Portuguese on the River Indus, with ships which he brought overland from this sea to the other one which they call the Red Sea, but he did not capture it.¹¹

¹ Battle of Las Salinas, April 26. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 241; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, ii. 527.

² July 8. Gómara (*Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 241-2) erroneously puts it in 1540. Cf. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 127.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴ Sept. 27-28. Petit, 178 ff.

⁵ Charles of Guelders died June 30. Henne, vii. 267-8.

⁶ There was practically no fighting this year; but an offensive alliance against the Turks was made between the Pope, the Emperor, Ferdinand, and Venice. Cf. Buchholtz, v. 109 ff.

⁷ Treaty of Gross-Varadin, Feb. 24. Cf. Buchholtz, v. 108-9.

⁸ Henne, vi. 211 ff.

⁹ Armstrong, i. 292-3.

¹⁰ Jorga, ii. 383.

¹¹ Jovius, ii. 489; also *Historia do Cerco de Diu, por Lopo de Sousa Coutinho* in vol. i of *Bibl. de Classicos Portuguezes*. Diu, of course, is not on the Indus, but many miles south of it.

The Year 1539

The loss of Castelnuevo together with many Spaniards.¹

The sad death of our Lady, the Empress Isabella, a woman of great goodness, and of the sort that men say ought to be married.² She bore many children, but the only ones who outlived her were Philip, our Lord the King, and Maria, who is now Queen of Bohemia with Maximilian, and Joanna, who became a widow while yet a child by the death of the unfortunate Prince of Portugal. The others died when they were children.

The famous Cortes of Toledo.³

Rebellion of Ghent, the capital of Flanders.⁴

The Emperor passes through France on the way to chastise Ghent, a fact which astonished all men, in view of the things that had passed between his Majesty and King Francis, when they considered the trustfulness of the one and the absolute security of the other.⁵

The marriage of the Lady Eleonor de Toledo, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, and Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence, who was a man of high rank.⁶

The title of official chronicler is conferred on Florian de Ocampo, who began to write the General History of Spain from the time of Noah.⁷ He will have hard work to finish it, but he will gratify the public if he fulfils his promise.

The Year 1540

The Emperor punishes the men of Ghent.⁸

The Turks enter Gibraltar, a fact which changed the nature of the fortifications.⁹

¹ Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, pp. 427 ff.

² May 1. Armstrong, vol. i, p. 295.

³ Met Oct. 25, 1538; closed Mar. 30, 1539. Cf. Colmeiro, *Cortes de Leon y Castilla*, v. 1-160; Haebler, *Geschichte Spaniens*, 283 ff.

⁴ Henne, vol. vi, caps. xxv-xxvi; Armstrong, i. 297 ff.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 284; Martin, viii. 260.

⁶ Mar. 29. Armstrong, i. 291-2.

⁷ Cf. Introduction, p. xxxi and *note*, and the lives of Ocampo mentioned there.

⁸ Henne, vol. vii, cap. xxvii.

⁹ Rotalier, *Histoire d'Alger*, cap. xiii; Sayer, *History of Gibraltar*, pp. 87-92.

The naval battle of Alboran, between Turks and Spaniards, which Bernardino de Mendoza won.¹

War of Pope Paul with Ascanio Colonna.²

The Emperor proposes to give his daughter Maria with the states of Flanders as her dowry to Louis, Duke of Orleans, in return for a real peace, but King Francis, his father, refuses the offer because of his desire to gain Milan, which was the cause of all the wars, and, as he himself said, the thing which he desired most in life.³

The Emperor and King Henry of England, who had been much at variance, treat of peace.⁴

King Henry of England dissolves the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was a great blow to the knights.⁵

War in Transylvania between the Voivode, John Zapolya, its King, and Stephen Maylat, who was attempting to gain possession of that province.⁶

Announcement of a league against the Turk made by the Papal nuncio, Alonzo de Avalos, Marquis del Vasto, and Claude Annebaut, governor of Turin.⁷

The Venetians give the Turks Nauplia and Malvasia and over one hundred thousand crowns in money in return for peace, so ardently did they desire it, although they placed the blame on King Francis, who was in touch with the negotiations in Constantinople.⁸

Fernando de Alarcón, a highly honoured Spanish general, dies.⁹ He was a native of Villaverde and of noble birth. He was a leader of troopers at the capture of Granada, and also in Cephalonia with the Great Captain. In

¹ Ibid. Alboran, Arbalon, or Arbolen is an island just north of Melilla.

² Leva, iii. 308. ³ Sandoval, ii. 288-9. 'Louis' should be 'Charles'.

⁴ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xv, p. 662.

⁵ 32 Hen. VIII, c. 24.

⁶ Huber, iv. 65 ff.; Buchholtz, v. 126 ff.

⁷ Sandoval, ii. 288; Ursu, *Politique Orientale de François I^{er}*, p. 114. Annebaut was governor of Piedmont.

⁸ Jorga, ii. 387.

⁹ Much of the following paragraph was utilized by Antonio Suarez de Alarcón in his *Commentarios de los Hechos del Señor Alarcón* (Madrid, 1655). I have indicated in the succeeding footnotes some of the more important places where Alarcón has followed Gómara, and those where he has diverged from him.

Giracia, when the war with the French over Naples began, he was wounded by an arquebus.¹ He was a field-general against the Venetians at Brindisi, Monopoli, Trani, and other places. In the war of Ravenna he was field-general and principal commissary, and was also captured and wounded there. Don Ramón de Cardona caused him to be liberated when he reinstated Duke Maximilian Sforza in Milan.² He went as colonel of the Spanish troops to pacify Sicily when they drove the viceroy, Hugo de Moncada, out of the island. He had charge of the army of Milan by order of the Emperor, when Prospero Colonna was ill, at the time when the Admiral of France was routed, and because Alarcón took many pieces of artillery from the French on that occasion, he bore them in the border of his arms.³ In the battle when King Francis was captured, he made the breach in the wall of the park of Pavia, through which our men entered. They gave him the person of King Francis to guard, as a man on whom reliance could be placed, and when he had come with him to Spain, the Emperor made him Marquis de Val Siciliana, which had belonged to the Angevin⁴ Camillo Pardo. He went to France with the viceroy, Charles of Lannoy, to inquire from King Francis why he was rising in rebellion with so many other persons without first fulfilling his agreement with the Emperor. He also had the guarding of Pope Clement from his surrender till his release, and at the same time he prudently resisted the Germans, who demanded that they should have the Pope in their power, as a guarantee that they should get their wages; and he even took away from them the hostages whom they had been given in pledge of payment, and who escaped by a chimney of the house which

¹ Alarcón (p. 171) says of this passage, 'El Cronista Francisco López de Gómara refiere las heridas con que quedó el Señor Alarcón.'

² Alarcón (p. 172) says that Alarcón was liberated by the Duke of Ferrara, who captured him. Cf. Zurita, Lib. X, cap. xx.

³ Cf. Alarcón, p. 250: 'Haziendole merced que las diez y ocho piezas de Artilleria que auia cogido á los Franceses y las cinco vanderas que les quitó durante el sitio de Milan las pusiesse por orla en el escudo de sus armas de Alarcon.'

⁴ Alarcón (p. 310) has 'Ursino'.

the Cardinal of San Giorgio built; and this caused the Germans all to leave Rome.¹ When Lautrec died, and the siege of Naples was raised, he was granted the town and marquissate of Tenda,² and other places, and the keeping of the Castel Nuovo of Naples, which had fallen vacant by the death of Luis Castro. When the Emperor was before La Goletta he sent for him to get his advice about the war, which profited him much, since there was no one else who could better establish a camp or plan out the digging of trenches. He was called 'Your Lordship' like de Leyva, in order more highly to honour and compliment him.³ He was reserved, but expressed himself well and wittily, and was cautious in taking presents; he even refused to accept from King Francis a little piece of silver in France, and would not take thirty thousand crowns, which were offered him by the Pope; in fact he lived a virtuous life, which is no small thing among soldiers.⁴ He died of pleurisy, at a great age, and in high esteem. He had many grandchildren born of an only daughter, who married Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza. Jean Bonchel composed his history in French, and tells the truth without showing bias as other Frenchmen do.⁵

The Year 1541

Spanish soldiers slay Caesar Fregoso and Hernando Rinçon, as they went secretly and valiantly down the River Po to treat for the King of France against the Emperor, the

¹ Alarcón (p. 331) quotes word for word Gómara's story of the custody of the Pope and escape of the hostages, prefacing it with the following words: 'No refiere el Jobio quien fue el que dió libertad a los rehenes, aunque cuenta el caso . . . pero aunque este Autor no dé con su silencio la gloria que mereció a quien los libró, no por esso quedará en olvido tan memorable accion como esta, debida a la prudente direccion y christiano zelo del Señor Alarcon, como lo escriue el Cronista Francisco Lopez de Gómara con estas palabras, hablando del Señor Alarcon.'

² 'Renda' in Alarcón.

³ This passage is quoted by Alarcón, p. 312.

⁴ This story is told at length by Alarcón, p. 329.

⁵ Alarcón in his preface says: 'No pudo hallar D. Antonio la vida que escribió en Frances Juan Bonchel, aunque hizo exactissimas diligencias dentro y fuera del Reyno para buscarla.'

one at Venice and the other at Constantinople.¹ Rinçon came from Medina del Campo and was a man of great importance on account of disservice done by him to his King, and because of his negotiations for the King of France with the Turk against the Christians.

The followers of Almagro also slay at Lima Francisco Pizarro, who conquered Peru, a very rich realm, by capturing its king Atabaliba.² King Francis allied himself with William, Duke of Cleves, against the Emperor, and with Kings Gustavus of Sweden and Christian of Denmark.

In Spires, where the Emperor held a diet, Julius Pflug, Johann Gropper, and John Ecclesio, Catholic theologians, hold a disputation with Philip Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, and John Pistorius, Lutheran theologians, who called themselves Protestants.³

King John Zapolya, the Voivode, dies, leaving his son Stephen, a vassal of the Turk, under the tutelage of Friar George of Croatia, Bishop of Varadin, and Diego Viguio and others of his servants.⁴

King Ferdinand undertakes a war for the purpose of getting the whole of Hungary, according to the stipulations of the agreement which he had made with the Voivode, and it cost him dear.⁵

The Pope and the Emperor meet to discuss matters in Lucca, because the Council had been summoned for the following year, and also in hopes of getting peace with the King of France; but the peace was not made, because the King desired the Duchy of Milan for his son Charles.⁶

Solyman comes to Hungary, and threatens the King of the Romans and the Germans, captures Buda in breach of

¹ July 3. Sandoval, ii. 295-6; Zeller, *Diplomatie Française*, cap. viii. 'Hernando should be 'Antonio'.

² June 26. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 244-5; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 179 ff.

³ 'Spires' should of course be 'Ratisbon'. Cf. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, pp. 340-1.

⁴ July 22, 1540. Cf. Hammer, iii. 224; Buchholtz, v. 131. 'Stephen' should be 'John Sigismund'.

⁵ Leva, iii. 449. The agreement refers to the treaty of Gross-Varadin in 1538.

⁶ Leva, iii. 454-5.

his plighted faith, and expels from it the child Stephen and his mother, Isabella of Aragon, who had summoned him to come to their aid.¹

King Ferdinand begs Solyman to give him the land which John Zapolya the Voivode had held under payment of tribute, but Solyman refuses his request, and demands in turn the rest of Hungary and appears in the neighbourhood of Austria.²

The war at Algiers, which was waged by the Emperor with as bad fortune as that which Diego de Vera and Hugo de Moncada had encountered before.³

The Year 1542

King Francis, being much aggrieved by the deaths of Hernando Rinçon and Caesar Fregoso, and desirous of gaining Milan, wages war on the Emperor in many places. He continues the struggle in Piedmont, sends Antoine de Bourbon to Artois, Martin van Rossem aided by the Duke of Cleves into Brabant, his son Charles, Duke of Orleans, to Luxemburg, and the Dauphin Henry to Catalonia near Perpignan. He also makes an attack on Navarre, and solicits aid from the Turks.⁴

There are great preparations for war throughout all Spain for the succour of Perpignan, but they were unnecessary.⁵

The Emperor gives permission to those men-at-arms who lost their horses at Algiers to ride on mules.⁶

The Council of the Indies undergoes a rigid inspection, as a result of which two of the four *oidores* who were in it were put out.⁷

The battle and victory of Chupas, which the licentiate

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 111, n. 4. Buda fell Aug. 26. 'Isabella of Aragon' should be 'Isabella of Poland'. She was a grand-daughter of Isabella of Aragon, the daughter of Alfonzo II of Naples. Buchholtz, v. 155 ff.; Hammer, iii. 227 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 234 ff.

³ Cf. Gómara, *Crónica de los Barbarrojas*, pp. 432 ff.; and above, note 6, p. 46, and note 7, p. 56; also list of authorities in Armstrong, ii. 7.

⁴ Cf. *ante*, p. 111, n. 1; Sandoval, ii. 309 ff.; Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, pp. 107-12.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 315.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 319; Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 249; Bourne, p. 225.

Cristóval Vaca de Castro won over Diego de Almagro on the 16th of October.¹

The Emperor punishes for slander those who put up libels in Valladolid.

Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, sends his ships to the Spice Islands.²

The laws of the Indies are published, and put the people up in arms.³

René, Prince of Orange, enters the duchy of Cleves with the Imperial army and ravages it.⁴

Diet of the Germans at Spires, during the absence of the Emperor, at which the ambassadors of the King of France showed themselves very favourable to the Lutherans and to the Turks.⁵

Summons of the Council, which was so greatly longed for, to meet at Trent.⁶

War between the English and the Scots by land and sea.⁷

James, King of Scotland, who was by no means well-beloved by his subjects, dies.⁸

The Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg attacks Pesth with a very powerful army for the King of the Romans, but without avail.⁹

Caesar of Naples tries to capture Turin by stratagem.¹⁰

Beltrame Sachia of Udene plunders Marano, a place belonging to the King of the Romans.¹¹

Duke John Frederick of Saxony, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse expel the Duke of Brunswick from his lands.¹²

A very harmful locust thrives in Spain and in other parts of Europe.¹³

¹ Should be September 16. Gómara, *ibid.*, p. 247; Prescott, ii. 224 ff.

² Gómara, *ibid.*, p. 453.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 249; Sandoval, ii. 319.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 311 ff.

⁶ Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, pp. 109-10.

⁶ Leva, iii. 472-3.

⁷ Solway Moss, Nov. 24.

⁸ Dec. 14.

⁹ In September. Buchholtz, v. 167 ff.

¹⁰ In 1543. Cf. Sandoval, ii. 320. Caesar of Naples is Caesar Maggi. Cf. Courteault, *Blaise de Montluc*, p. 178, note 1.

¹¹ Cf. Zeller, pp. 71-2, 304 ff.

¹² Armstrong, ii. 12.

¹³ In 1543, according to Sandoval, ii. 323.

The Year 1543

Friendship of the Emperor with the King of England, which the Pope took amiss on the ground that such an alliance was heretical, for he maintained that King Henry had incited the Turks to attack King Ferdinand.¹

The Emperor makes his son Philip regent of these realms, and turns over the affairs of state to the Secretary, Francisco de los Cobos, and those of war to Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva.²

The Emperor orders an enormous *servicio*, both ordinary and extraordinary, to be levied in Castile.³

The Emperor passes over to Italy from Perpignan on his way to wage war in Germany and France with fifty-seven galleys, and more than forty ships with five thousand soldiers, and the Duke of Nájera, the Marquis of Aguilar, the Count of Feria, Juan de Vega, and other knights go with him.⁴

In Pavia the Emperor gives Duke Cosmo de' Medici the fortresses of Florence and Leghorn for one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and thereby greatly pleased Italy, although he did so in order to get money.⁵

Meeting of the Pope and the Emperor, which I am glad to tell about, in order that men may know the lengths to which the presumption of the Holy Father extended.⁶ The Pope gave out that he came to the interview in order to lend support to the Council and to treat of peace, though the chief reason of his coming was in order that he might buy Milan. He discussed the price with the Emperor, who refused his proposal, and told him that he was under no obligation to furnish him with an army, unless he had another equally large himself, and that some evilly-disposed persons would attribute his actions to his

¹ Sandoval, ii. 321-2; Fisher, p. 460.

² Haebler, pp. 314 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 320.

⁴ Vandenesse, pp. 254-5; Sandoval, ii. 322.

⁵ Ibid., and Leva, iii. 470.

⁶ June 22. Sandoval, ii. 323; Leva, iii. 478 ff.

having a great deal of money. The final result was that after much haggling they arranged to meet in Busseto, a place feudally subject to two different lords, each with five hundred soldiers, and their guards on foot and on horseback, and one side held possession of one gate of the castle where both lodged, and the other of the other. They spoke together three times during the five days that they were there, not counting the first exchange of calls, the Emperor going twice to visit the Pope, and the Pope going once to visit the Emperor.

Gaspar de Avalos, Archbishop of Santiago, Francisco de Mendoza, Bishop of Jaen, and Martin de Gurrea, Bishop of Huesca, representing all the bishoprics of Spain, present themselves at the Council of Trent before Cardinal Morone, Bishop of Modena and Papal Legate.¹

A report is spread in Germany that the Emperor was dead by those who desired to have him alive, in order to stir people up.²

The Emperor captures Düren, a very strong place, which caused terror in the adjacent territories, because they believed that the Spaniards had claws like cats, which enabled them to climb up the walls, and griffins' teeth to tear people to pieces.³ He has with him, not counting his immediate attendants, sixteen thousand Spaniards, a thousand light cavalry from Italy, and as many as twenty-five hundred men at arms.

The Emperor pardons the Duke of Cleves, to whom Düren had belonged, and who came and begged forgiveness at Venlo; and he took from him only Guelders, which was his own anyway.⁴

The Duke kissed the Emperor's hand after the custom of Castile, and was, I believe, the first German who ever did so.

¹ Sandoval, ii. 328.

² B. M. MS. has 'no le quisieran viuo' ('did not desire to have him alive'), and is doubtless correct. Sandoval (ii. 328) indicates that the report was spread by the Emperor's foes.

³ Aug. 24. Vandenesse, pp. 259-60.

⁴ Sept. 10-14. Vandenesse, p. 263; Sandoval, ii. 338; also Heidrich, *Geldrischer Erbfolgstreit*.

The Emperor also receives into his service Martin van Rossem, seneschal of Guelders.¹

The siege by the Imperialists of Landrecies, which the French had captured shortly before, and which King Francis gallantly relieved later, after having first taken Luxemburg.²

Warlike demonstration of King Francis, to cover his flight to Cateau-Cambrésis, while the Emperor really wanted to fight, and even wrote to France and Italy that the French King was fleeing from him, and that he would have to follow him to the end of the world.³

The King had ten thousand horse and over one hundred thousand foot, if they had only been good soldiers, including six thousand Gascons, twelve thousand Swiss, two thousand Italians, and eighty-four thousand Frenchmen.⁴ The Emperor had nine thousand horse, of whom fifteen hundred were light horse, and forty-eight thousand foot, six thousand being Spaniards, seven thousand Englishmen, and one thousand Italians. I desire to relate how the affair occurred, in order that all men may justly estimate the bravery of each of the combatants. It was clearly a case of fighting, in view of the exchange of challenges between them which we have already recounted, and in view of their proximity to one another. The Emperor arrived at his camp on Thursday, All Saints' Day, and on the Saturday went forth on an armed horse and fully armed himself save for his head, which he left bare, in order that he might be recognized; and he drew up the army, encouraging each nation in its own tongue. Meantime seven hundred Low German cavalry who had gone ahead, had

¹ Sandoval, ii. 341.

² Oct. 20-30. Sandoval, ii. 342 ff.; Jovius, ii. 717 ff.; Armstrong, ii. 16-17.

³ Ibid., Oct. 30-Nov. 5.

⁴ Sandoval (ii. 343) has obviously utilized Gómara's account of this affair, though his estimates of the size of the armies are very different. At the beginning of his description Sandoval says: 'Diré muy por menudo este cuento, y por relacion de testigos fidedignos, que se hallaron presentes, y concurdan, aunque lo escribieron sin saber unos de otros . . .'

already begun to fight with a part of the French horsemen, and the Spaniards, who were deploying on both sides,¹ until they got to the trenches, kept continually asking Fernando de Gonzaga if they should enter them, though he, in an evil moment, refused. So the Emperor put on his helmet, saying to the company of his personal attendants that his chance had at last come, and that they must fight like honourable cavaliers, and that if they saw his horse or his standard, borne by Luis Quixada, fall, they were to pick up the standard, rather than himself. He then closed his vizor and made his way step by step towards the enemy. It was before midday, and he waited four hours quietly in one place for the King to come forth to battle, as he had proclaimed that he would do; but since the King did not come forth, although the Spaniards near the camp did their utmost to urge him on, and since also the afternoon was growing dark, the Emperor pitched his camp and sounded 'taps', only a quarter of a league from the camp of the King. Sunday passed in councils of war, accompanied by some skirmishing. When Monday dawned there were no Frenchmen there, and so there was no battle.

King Francis, as was afterwards learned from those who were taken in the pursuit, was afraid of getting lost, as he did at Pavia, when he saw so many Spaniards near his trenches (although he had been assured that there were not more than three thousand), and said that having succoured Landrecies was enough to vindicate his honour, since it was to this end that he had come to within sight of the enemy; so, sending ahead his heavy artillery at four o'clock Sunday afternoon, he made them take off the big bells and the little bells of the horses which dragged it, and even struck a carter because he made a noise with his whip, so quietly did he desire to accomplish his retreat. And he took with him the keys of Cambr sis, in order that no one should go forth with the news of his flight, and at nine o'clock he went off with only three hundred cavalry. The Dauphin

¹ Sandoval has 'en dos alas' (in two wings).

followed with the army at midnight, without making a sound, and before it had dawned all his people had completed their departure. And it must not be forgotten that though only three thousand Spaniards showed themselves in review, four thousand came forth to fight the battle, for that is the sort of people they are. They murmured against Don Fernando, their general, because he would not let them engage the French army, and it is certain that the French were afraid, and that the Germans changed their black bands for red ones.

War in Barbary between Martin de Córdoba, Count of Alcaudete, and Hamid, King of Tlemcen, whom others call Manat.¹

Blasco Nuñez Vela goes to Peru as viceroy, and took a *chancillería* with him.²

Prince Philip and Maria, the Infanta of Portugal, are happily married at Salamanca.³ His sponsors were the Duke of Alva and his wife, and there went to Badajoz to meet her, Juan Martinez Siliceo, Bishop of Cartagena and tutor of the Prince, and Juan Alonzo de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia, who brought with him his brother, Pedro Giron de Guzmán, Count of Olivares, Juan Carlos his son, Count of Niebla, Fernando Arias de Saavedra, Count of Castellar, Manuel Ponce de Leon, Count of Baylen, and other principal gentlemen of Seville.

The French and the Spaniards continue their wars in Piedmont.⁴

Ahmed rises in rebellion at Tunis against his father Hassan, who had come across to Italy to interview the Emperor, and when the latter returned with an army of Neapolitans he took him prisoner and put out his eyes with a red-hot iron, and did the same by his brothers Nahazar and Abdalla.⁵

¹ Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique septentrionale*, iii. 58-9.

² He arrived in March, 1544. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 250; Prescott, ii. 259.

³ May 13. Sandoval, ii. 251 ff.

⁴ Courteault, cap. iv.

⁵ This was in 1542. Cf. Mercier, iii. 56-7.

Ahmed makes a truce with Francisco de Tovar, Alcaide and captain of la Goletta.¹

Barbarossa winters in France with the Turkish fleet, having first demolished Nice with the aid of the French.²

Solyman comes to Hungary with a great flourish of trumpets, bringing with him one hundred thousand horse, sixty thousand foot, and forty thousand labourers, but only succeeds in capturing Gran and some other places.³

Bellido Busto writes his history, beginning this present year.⁴ He has been attached to the Imperial service ever since.

The Year 1544

The Diet at Spires at which all the electors were present with the Emperor, which has rarely occurred. At this Diet his Majesty granted certain things to the Lutherans, which the Pope took very ill, though they did not affect religion. It was on this occasion that the Germans declared themselves against the King of France, which doubtless irritated him.⁵

Fernando de Gonzaga captures Luxemburg with three thousand cavalry and thirty thousand foot, eight thousand of whom were Spaniards, brought thither by sea by Vasco de Acuña, a valuable man in war, and a good soldier and leader.⁶

The Emperor advances with this army as far as Châlons, which terrified Paris and all France.⁷

The battle of Cerisoles, in which the Marquis del Vasto, who was attempting to relieve Carignano, was defeated and lost sixty banners, although he had as many men as

¹ Ibid.

² Sandoval, ii. 349 ff.

³ Buchholtz, v. 196 ff.; Hammer, iii. 248 ff.

⁴ I can find no historian of this name. Possibly Gómara means Bernabé Busto, tutor to the Emperor's children, who published in 1553 *Introducciones Gramaticales*. Cf. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* i. 187.

⁵ Armstrong, ii. 25-7; Vandenesse, pp. 276 ff.

⁶ June 6. Sandoval, ii. 367; Paillard, *Invasion allemande de 1544*.

⁷ Aug. 30. Vandenesse, p. 291.

François de Bourbon, Count of Enghien, who led the French.¹

King Francis, thinking to capture Milan after the victory of Cerisoles, sends Piero Strozzi into Piedmont, but he was promptly routed at Carignano.²

Peace between the Emperor and King Francis promoted by Gabriel de Guzmán, a Dominican Friar and student at Paris, in return for which the King gave him an abbey in Longpont.³ Granvelle, and Fernando de Gonzaga, and the Admiral Annebaut, Charles de Neuilly, and the Secretary Gilbert Bayard agreed to it, the principal stipulations being that within a year the Emperor should give to Duke Charles of Orleans the Duchy of Milan, with either his elder daughter, the Infanta Maria, or one of the daughters of the King of the Romans as his wife, in return for which Savoy was to be restored to its Duke.

Juan de Vega, ambassador at Rome, goes to bear aid to the Marquis del Vasto in Milan, which checked the French.⁴

The Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela seizes Vaca de Castro.⁵

Queen Eleanor of France brings her stepson, the Duke of Orleans, to Brussels as son-in-law of the Emperor.⁶

The English capture Edinburgh in Scotland.⁷

Henry VIII, King of England, captures Boulogne in Picardy with Spanish soldiers, which the French King deeply resented.⁸

¹ April 14. Leva, iii. 504; Courteault, pp. 155-71.

² June 4, between Serravalle and Novi; not at Carignano. Courteault, p. 171.

³ The treaty of Crespy, Sept. 18. Sandoval, ii. 374, 377-79; Leva, iii. 527 ff. The exact provisions of the treaty were that if Orleans married Ferdinand's daughter he should have Milan; if he married Charles's daughter he should have the Netherlands and Franche-Comté. Cf. Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 116; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xix, pt. ii, No. 249.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 365.

⁵ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 251-2. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 275.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 380.

⁷ In May. Cf. Fisher, p. 462.

⁸ Sept. 14. Fisher, pp. 462-3. On the Spanish soldiers see *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xix, pt. ii, p. 240, and references on p. 743.

In this year Paul Jovius closed his history,¹ and if he were as straightforward as he is diligent, he would have written it well; and even as it is, apart from his misrepresentations, he is a great recorder of the many mistakes which he holds to have been made in the management of the affairs of our land and people.

René de Châlons, Prince of Orange, dies.²

The Year 1545

Don Carlos, Infante of Castile, is born in Valladolid the eighth of July.³

The Princess Maria dies as a result of bad care during her confinement, according to the report which was given out.⁴

Juan Tavera, a cleric of great weight, dies.⁵ He was president of the Royal Council, and Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Inquisitor-General and Regent. He was so chaste that he permitted no one to see his feet when his servants drew off his stockings, and a great secret negotiator, and so attached to the Court that he never left it. He left a rich and beautiful hospital at Toledo and a large property to his nephew, Anaspardo, and other relations, which did not look well for a churchman. Although he was so rich, he died without possessing a silver spoon with which to eat a pomegranate when he was ill, a fact which afforded an opportunity for clerical abuse.

At the same time died Jerónimo Suarez de Sevilla,⁶ Bishop of Badajoz, who was hand in glove, as they say,

¹ The meaning of this paragraph is very doubtful, and I am by no means certain that I have translated it correctly. 'Errores' in the text might be taken to signify misconceptions about Spain, rather than mistakes made by her: thus completely altering the sense of the passage. The work of Jovius referred to here is of course the *Historia sui temporis*. It is somewhat strange that the usually well-informed Gómara makes no mention of his notorious venality.

² July 21. Sandoval, ii. 372; Henne, viii. 177-8.

³ Sandoval, ii. 392.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Aug. 1. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 81.

⁶ Sept. 18. Gams, *op. cit.* p. 11.

with Archbishop Tavera, a clever official of the King at the Court, and one who also angered the clergy by leaving about a hundred thousand crowns, although he was very niggardly, and also because he left them to Juan Martínez Siliceo, tutor of the prince, and Bishop of Cartagena, who was afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, who also died the richest Cardinal prelate of our time, the which was as much the more blameworthy, as he pretended to be the most zealous of men.¹

Gaspar de Avalos, Cardinal and Archbishop of Santiago,² and Sebastian Ramirez, Bishop of Cuenca, and President of the Audiencia of Valladolid,³ die.

Death of Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Mondoñedo, and a historian whose works were more voluminous than excellent, as was partly shown by the Bachiller Pedro de Rhua, Master of Arts.⁴

Death of Juan de Zúñiga, tutor of the Prince, who was Commendador Mayor of Castile, and in whom the Emperor placed great reliance.⁵

Death of Juan de Silva, Count of Cifuentes, Lord High Steward of the Empress and ambassador at Rome.⁶

Doctor Miguel May, vice-chancellor of Aragon, who was for many years ambassador at Rome, and a learned and agreeable man, dies also.

Deaths of García Manrique, Count of Osorio, President of the Council of the Orders, of Don Alvaro de Córdoba, the Prince's Head Groom and favourite, and of Inez Porto Carrero, a woman of great renown.

Death of Charles of Orleans, which, though the Emperor was sorry for it, was no bad thing for him.⁷ The Prince was given funeral honours as Duke of Milan.

¹ On Siliceo, cf. C. Bratli, *Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne*, pp. 73-4.

² Nov. 2. Gams, p. 26. ³ Jan. 22, 1547. Gams, p. 31.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 393. Antonio (*Bibl. Hisp. Nov.*, i. 125 ff.) puts his death April 10, 1544; Gams (*op. cit.* p. 52), on April 3, 1545. On Rhua or Ruami and his *Cartas Censorias* cf. Introduction, p. xxxii, n. 1.

⁵ On Zúñiga, cf. Bratli, p. 74.

⁶ Cf. *Spanish Calendar*, vol. viii, p. 212.

⁷ Sept. 8. Sandoval, ii. 392.

Blasco Nuñez Vela, Viceroy of Peru, perishes in the battle which he fought near Quito with Gonzalo Pizarro.¹

King Francis tries to recover Boulogne by force of arms, but cannot, because of the strong and vigilant defence by the English.²

The French under Lorges fare ill in Scotland.³

The French fight with the English on the sea, Admiral Claude Annebaut commanding the ships, and Leon Strozzi, Prior of Capua, the galleys.⁴

The Year 1546

The Emperor holds a Diet at Ratisbon for the discussion of the Lutheran heresy, at which, because of their non-appearance, he deprived John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, of his electorate, and Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, of his lands.⁵ The latter was an arrogant man, who, presuming on the fortunes of war, valued at naught the possessions which he already had.

The Emperor provokes a war against the members of the Schmalkaldic League, who were all Lutherans, and principally against the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave as rebels and tyrants.⁶ For this purpose he collected ten thousand cavalry, not counting his immediate attendants, and fourteen thousand foot, with two thousand sappers, of whom the Pope paid for twelve thousand.⁷ Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, was generalissimo of the

¹ Jan. 18, 1546. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 263; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 308 ff.

² Fisher, pp. 466-9.

³ Gabriel de Montgomery, Sieur de Lorges, who afterwards accidentally killed King Henry II. Cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xx, pt. ii, p. 773.

⁴ Both Leon and Piero Strozzi were there. Cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xx, pt. i, Nos. 1069, 1074.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 404 ff.

⁶ Cf. Armstrong, ii. 137, n., for a list of the authorities on this war. Gómara may have used Ávila, whose work was printed in 1547 and in 1550 (cf. *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. xxi, p. xvi), but he differs from him in many details. Cf. also Sandoval, ii. 407 ff., and Charles's own *Commentaries* (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1862), pp. 127 ff.

⁷ Armstrong (ii. 139) gives Charles 28,000 men in all.

army, Gian Giacomo Medicino, Marquis of Marignano, was captain of the artillery, the Marquis Giovanni Battista Castaldo, principal field-general, and Francisco Duarte, commissary-general. The principal cavalry leaders were the Archduke Maximilian, Philibert Emmanuel Prince of Piedmont, Wolfgang Milchling Grand Master of Prussia, Charles de Lannoy, Prince of Sulmone, Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, Henry Duke of Brunswick, and others. There were eight thousand Spaniards with the field-generals, Alvaro de Sandi, Alonzo Vivas, Diego de Arze, and ten thousand Italians with Duke Octavio Farnese, and eleven thousand Walloons with Maximilian, Count of Buren, and sixteen thousand Germans with many colonels and eighty cannon.¹

The army which the Lutherans collected was composed of fifteen thousand horsemen and eighty thousand foot, with six thousand sappers and one hundred and twenty big brass cannon, and eight hundred carts of powder and ball and other munitions of war, eight thousand horses to haul the artillery and ammunition, and three hundred boats to make bridges with.² Their leaders were Duke John Frederick, who thought to become Emperor, and the Landgrave, who promised to expel the Emperor from all Germany, and Sebastian Schärtlin, who was a halberdier of the Emperor. Such being, then, the armies on both sides, and so furnished with artillery and provisions as never had been armies in Germany before, the Emperor defeated his adversaries with courage and prudence, as he demonstrated at Ingolstadt when the enemy's artillery was playing violently on his cavalry and he stood his ground firmly, which was certainly the right way to win a battle. Although the Duke of Alva sent to tell him that he ought to retire from the danger, which was certainly great and

¹ Cf. Sandoval, *loc. cit.*, Ávila, and Vandenesse, 332-3, 329, on these names. On the Grand Master of Prussia, Wolfgang Milchling, or Schutzbar, cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. xxxiii, p. 136.

² Ávila gives the Lutherans 70-80,000 foot, 9-10,000 horse, and 100 cannon; Armstrong, 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse.

manifest, he replied that if he should do so, it would cause his men to be afraid.¹

Martin Luther dies² quite suddenly in Eisleben his birthplace, after having supped merrily that same night with a number of other Germans; whose life, since it was that of the worst man of our times, it is well that I should relate, in order that men may beware of his heresies. Luther, then, was a Master of Arts, and became a friar of the Order of Augustinian Hermits, in terror and fear of being struck by lightning. He was an epileptic, though many friars believed him to be possessed of a devil, and some said he had a familiar spirit, and even he himself acknowledged that he conversed with the Devil and was well acquainted with him. He was made legal adviser to some of the monasteries of his order, being known as a vehement and litigious man, and when he gave up that occupation he began to study and argue in a new fashion, and in such a way as to win great fame. At that time it happened that Pope Leo sent indulgences into Germany to get money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, and in the course of a discussion whether the Augustinian Friars or the Dominicans should preach them, he began to attack them, and soon afterwards, in the year 1517, to write bad things about them and the Pope, and to ridicule them because they were not entrusted to the monks of his Order; from which may be clearly seen the intensity of his malice and hatred. He then became so involved in rivalries, discussions, and disputes with John Tetzel, a Dominican friar and great preacher, that he suddenly began to fall into great heresies, which gave many others occasion for going further than he, as for example, John Oecolampadius, Ulrich Zwingli, Thomas Münzer, and Michael Servetus, the Spaniard, who assailed the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, and whom the heretics burnt as a heretic in Basel,³

¹ Cf. Sandoval, ii. 416; Ávila, in vol. xxi of *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, pp. 417, 421.

² Feb. 18. Cf. Sandoval, i. 78 ff.

³ *Sic* for Geneva.

and David Joris¹ the Dutchman, who now lives in Frisia, and who certainly is the worst of the whole lot, so bad indeed that neither Arius nor Mahomet can equal him. In addition to his heresies Luther was a tale-bearer, a liar, a slanderer, a revolutionary, audacious, stubborn, vain-glorious, rude, a cheat, buffoon, and drunkard, and in fact the personification of knavery, for he neither possessed nor taught a single virtue. He gained the adherence of the common people by speaking ill of the nobles, and that of the poor by speaking worse of the rich, and that of all men by overthrowing religion and attacking the Pope, and that of women by ridiculing virginity; and so, by way of giving an example to nuns and friars and even to the clergy, he married a nun when he was fifty-three years old and had many children by her. He thus lived sixty-three years a bad man, and thirty a heretic.²

The Pope makes his son Pier Luigi Farnese Duke of Piacenza.³

The Licenciado Pedro Gasca goes to Peru.⁴

Prices are high all over Spain.

Doctor Sepúlveda writes a justification of the Conquest of the Indies, and Friar Bartoloméo de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, contradicts him; and on this topic there were many disputes and discussions.⁵

Wars at Tlemcen, Hassan Barbarossa aiding one side, and the Count of Alcaudete the other.⁶

Don Alonzo de Avalos, Marquis del Vasto, Governor of Milan, and General-in-Chief of the Emperor in Lombardy, dies at the age of forty. He was a very charming man, dressed richly, played the great lord, and was generous in

¹ On this man cf. Sandoval, ii. 356, and Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, trans. Freese: vol. iii, pp. 128-9.

² Luther was born Nov. 10, 1483: and married June 13, 1525.

³ This was in 1545. Cf. Navenne in *Revue Historique*, vol. lxxviii, pp. 17-18.

⁴ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 265; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 340 ff.

⁵ Cf. *J. G. Sepulvedae Opera*, vol. iv, pp. 329 ff. 'Apologia pro Libro de Iustis Belli Causis'; Sandoval, ii. 492; F. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, pp. 285 ff.

⁶ Mercier, iii. 56-63; Ruff, *La Domination Espagnole à Oran*, cap. ix. Hassan Barbarossa was the son of Kheir-ed-Din.

giving. He was skilled in arms, and understood well the art of war, but was not fortunate in it, for he lost the battle of Cerisoles. He was also very kindly, very courteous, and in fact possessed many and great virtues, and was greatly beloved on account of them.¹

Fernando Gonzaga came as governor of Milan from Sicily, where he was viceroy many years.²

Juan de Vega, ambassador at Rome, goes as viceroy to Sicily, where he remained ten years and then came to be president of the Royal Council of Castile, and to enjoy great authority and reputation.³

Peace is made between Francis, King of France, and Henry, King of England. It stipulated that King Francis was to have Boulogne in Picardy by paying a certain sum of money within eight months.⁴

Kheir-ed-Din Barbarossa dies in Pera.⁵

The Year 1547

The Emperor having defeated the army of the Lutherans, seized the lands of the Duke of Würtemberg, although he immediately restored them, and also takes Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfort, Strassburg, and other cities which supported the League and the rebellion.⁶

Duke John Frederick recovers by force of arms the lands which Duke Maurice took from him a little before, and indeed regains practically all his territories.⁷

The Bohemians plot to summon Duke John Frederick of Saxony against the King of the Romans, and choose as

¹ Avalos was certainly more than forty at the time of his death. Cf. the mention of him under the year 1525, *ante*, p. 73.

² Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, vol. iii, p. 769.

³ Leva, iv. 210 ff.

⁴ Treaty of Ardres, June 8. Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 117. 'Months' should be 'years'.

⁵ July 16. Hammer, iii. 269.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 443; Vandenesse, 338 ff.; Ávila, p. 434; Armstrong, ii. 141.

⁷ Armstrong, ii. 145 ff.

their leader Count Gaspar Fluch with forty thousand men of war.¹

Duke Frederick captures in battle Marquis Albert of Brandenburg, and also Christopher, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, and takes from them ten banners and twelve pieces of artillery.²

The plague in Saxony and in the armies.

The Emperor takes his army across Albis, which those who live by its bank call the Elbe, against the advice of his counsellors; a miller showed him the ford, though some of his men swam across with their horses, and certain Spaniards swam it with their swords in their mouths, although it was cold weather. And this feat was the more courageous in that the Romans never dared to cross it, and especially in that the Emperor brought with him only sixteen thousand men.³

The Emperor, together with his brother, the King of the Romans, conquers and captures Duke John Frederick of Saxony in battle, with the loss of few lives among his own men, the which was great good fortune.⁴

The Duke rode on a dark bay horse, and was armed with a jacket of fine mail, and over it a black and white corselet which became him well. He was exceedingly fat, though active, and wise in war, though on that occasion he was caught napping. Less than two thousand Saxons were slain, and nine standards of cavalry, seventeen banners and fifteen cannon, and six hundred wagons of ammunition and baggage were captured.⁵

The blockade of Bohemia by the Imperialists.⁶

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, comes, vanquished, to surrender himself to the Emperor, which made a great reputation for his Majesty, and brought grief and sorrow on him who presumed so much.⁷

¹ Sandoval, ii. 445; Buchholtz, vi. 380 ff.

² At Rochlitz, Mar. 2. Cf. Sandoval, ii. 444, and J. Voigt, *Markgraf Albert Alcibiades*, vol. i, pp. 142-56.

³ Sandoval, ii. 447 ff.; Ávila, pp. 439 ff.

⁴ April 24. Ávila, pp. 441-3.

⁵ Ávila, p. 443; Sandoval, ii. 452.

⁶ Buchholtz, vi. 404 ff.

⁷ June 20. Armstrong, ii. 153.

The Emperor grants the office of Imperial Elector to Duke Maurice.¹

The Emperor captures in these Lutheran wars four hundred and forty pieces of artillery, great and small, a good part of which he sent to Spain.

Ferdinand, King of the Romans, conquers the Bohemians, and, though he was their king by election, does what he pleases with them all and their arms, privileges, and immunities, and even took from them more than two hundred thousand crowns of income in Prague alone.²

The battle between Pucaran and Guarina in which Gonzalo Pizarro defeated Hernando Centeno.³

Death at the age of sixty years of Henry, King of England, who was richly endowed with the goods of this world, and possessed a splendid body and mind, if only he had used them well.⁴ For he was very handsome, rich and wise. He married Catharine, the daughter of the Catholic Kings, who was likewise handsome, and who had been married to his brother. He won victory in person over his enemies when he took Théroutanne from King Louis of France and Boulogne from King Francis, and through his generals, when Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey,⁵ conquered the Scottish fleet, and when the same Earl slew King James of Scotland in battle. He supported Pope Julius against King Louis of France, and showed favour to Pope Clement when he was in prison, because of his hatred of the Emperor. He wrote the Book of the Sacraments against Luther, in return for which Pope Leo gave him the title of the Defender of the Faith, by vote of the consistory of Cardinals. Up to this time he was a most excellent King, although he changed his foreign alliances, but from the moment that he changed his wife and his

¹ June 4. *Allg. deutsche Biog.*, xxii. 297.

² Buchholtz, vi. 406 ff.; Armstrong, ii. 150.

³ Oct. 26. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 269; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 385 ff.

⁴ Jan. 28. Sixty should be fifty-five. Sandoval (ii. 470) plagiarizes.

⁵ The third Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), who served under his father at Flodden and led the vanguard.

religion he became wicked. He abandoned his wife Queen Catharine, in order to wed his mistress and lady-in-waiting, Anne Boleyn, with whom he took much pleasure, but whom he had executed within the space of three years for adultery with George Boleyn, her own brother, with whom she slept in the hope of a male heir, as she also did with two other gentlemen. The day after her execution he straightway took to wife Jane Seymour, who bore him Edward, who died King. When she died, he sent to Cleves for Anne, the sister of Duke William, whom he also abandoned immediately, because she was dull and did not satisfy his passions; and he lost no time in wedding Catharine Howard, his niece,¹ nor in beheading her also for adultery with two gentlemen; and he then married a sixth wife, Catharine Parr, a widow of fifty summers, so terrible was his passion or else his insanity. But it was his fate to be blind in understanding, as a penalty for his sins. He began to get at odds with the Pope, who censured his first divorce, and scoffed at his excommunications and dispensations, and involved himself deeper in that error day by day. He styled himself Head of the Church of England, and diverted to his treasury the ecclesiastical revenues, which was tantamount to renouncing his obedience to the Pope; over and above which he murdered three Carthusian friars, and Cardinal John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas More, who was Lord Chancellor. He also slew certain gentlemen, leaders of those who rose in defence of the holy Christian faith, and who had put themselves in his power on his promise to do them no harm. He despoiled the churches, dissolved the monasteries, overthrew the Order of the Knights of St. John of Rhodes, threw the saints' bodies into the river, and finally suppressed the faith and religion of Jesus Christ through his kingdom.

Francis, King of France, dies after a life of fifty-two

¹ Catharine Howard was, of course, not the King's niece, but the Duke of Norfolk's.

years, and a reign of more than thirty-two.¹ He was charming in many ways, and well upheld the royal dignity, and as he was by nature gay, polite, kind, and easy to deal with, he caused men to love him greatly, especially because of his generosity, which shone forth the more in him in that his father-in-law, King Louis, was detested because of his niggardliness. He indulged frequently in pleasures, and was sometimes open in his relations with women to an extent which looked far from well for a married man. He spoke his own language very well, and was eloquent, and the verses he composed are highly praised. He governed his realms well, save at the very first, although he overwhelmed them with taxation; and he kept them up to the very end clear of Lutherans, by punishing heretics, and he would certainly have been reckoned a good and Most Christian King, as he styled himself, had he not summoned the Turk, to the detriment and scandal of Christendom, in his hatred and enmity of the Emperor Charles, whose rival and even equal he desired to be; and this was doubtless the cause and origin of infinite evils which cannot be related without the shedding of tears. The French exhaust themselves, and even some Italians labour in their efforts to put King Francis on a par with the Emperor Charles, comparing the virtues of the one with those of the other, without saying a word about the vital question of their vices and faults; but they cannot accomplish it, even though they should credit the King with everything which they deny to the Emperor; for it is a matter of common knowledge that Charles has the advantage over Francis in his manner of life, in his administration of justice, and in his respect for religion, which are virtues which pertain to the character; as well as in riches and realms, which are matters of fortune, since sometimes they are won and others lost. For Charles never broke his word after having sworn to observe it, as did the King, nor provoked war, as may be inferred from the fact itself. But

¹ March 31. Sandoval (ii. 440) follows parts of this account very closely.

the King, who played to win, as the phrase is, but never paid his debts, was always stirring up strife, as for example, in Flanders with Robert de la Marck, and in Navarre with André de Foix, contrary to his promises at Noyon, and in Naples with Lautrec contrary to his agreement which he swore to in Madrid in order to gain his liberty, and in Perpignan with the Dauphin Henry his son, in defiance of the truce of Nice. Some persons are pleased to approve of the shiftings which kings make in their friendships and leagues, perfidiously, and to their own hurt and even dishonour, saying that such action is necessary and suitable as much for the conservation of their kingdoms as for their increase; and they confirm this doctrine by the examples of King Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Louis XII, King of France, and of Pope Julius II, who frequently employed such methods; although it would be much better to hold and keep perpetually to that which they have once agreed on, as King Sigismund of Poland has done with the Turks, and as the Emperor has been desirous of doing; but since all men break their words, they maintain that to do so is not as bad as would otherwise be the case, whereas in reality it is just so much the worse, in that the evil is so common that no one trusts another in diplomacy, so dangerous is it to do so.¹ Francis, you must know, began his reign with a great flourish of trumpets. He led his army into Italy by a new road, conquered the Swiss at Marignano, seized the Duchy of Milan and captured Duke Maximilian Sforza. Aided by this stroke of good fortune he negotiated with Pope Leo at Bologna, where they met, in the hope of being given the title of Emperor of Constantinople. He then made at Noyon an honourable treaty of peace and friendship with Charles, Prince of Castile, to whom we now render homage as Emperor, and against whom, on the death of the Emperor Maximilian, he competed for the

¹ This last passage is in striking consonance with the famous Capitolo Decimottavo of Machiavelli's *Principe*, entitled 'In che Modo i Principi debbano osservare la Fede'. There can be little doubt that Gómará was familiar with that work. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii.

Empire, with such obstinacy and ambition that he said that they never again would be good friends; which prophecy he honourably fulfilled, for it is certain that since that day he regarded him with an enmity so mortal that it lasted all his life, as he always plainly showed in words, by speaking and writing of him discourteously and insultingly, and in deeds by provoking war against him, and by soliciting against him the aid of Christians, Turks, Moors, and pirates. The thing he most desired was to be Duke of Milan,¹ as he himself confessed, and for this purpose he returned to Italy in order to gain it from Duke Francesco Sforza, who had recovered it with the aid of Pope Leo and of the Emperor; and while striving to conquer it he was captured and brought to Spain, which superadded to his previous enmity towards the Emperor an incredible hatred. In order to get free, he made and swore to the treaties of Madrid, and because he did not fulfil them, he was able to 'rest at his ease', as the saying is;² for he renounced them as if he were under age, and overturned all Christendom with his plans for vengeance. As a result of this action and of the ensuing alliance, followed the wars of Lombardy, the sack of Rome, the capture of the Pope, the siege of Naples, the enterprise against Sardinia, the naval battle which Hugo de Moncada lost, and the challenges sent by King Francis and by the King of England. But all this availed him naught against the Emperor's power and wisdom, which all other men called his good fortune. For Francis was forced to reverse his policy, and come to terms again, and to marry the Emperor's sister and to pay his own ransom in order to get back the Dauphins, whom he had left as hostages in Spain; but for all this he did not forget his grudge. For he straightway held an interview with the King of England in regard to innovations in religion, and with Pope Clement about getting Milan, and he began to treat with Barbarossa and the Grand Turk in order to harass the Emperor in the

¹ Cf. Lavisce, vol. v, pt. i, p. 118.

² Literally 'to lick himself', as in the old proverb 'El buey suelto bien se lamie', 'The ox that has been released licks himself at his ease.'

Kingdom of Naples by a naval attack, since Andrea Doria had abandoned him. He usurped the Duchy of Savoy together with Piedmont in order to get an easy entrance into Milan with his army, thinking thus to win the Kingdom of Naples and take vengeance on the Emperor, his enemy, for which purpose he caused Barbarossa to come with the Turkish fleet to those waters, and summoned Solymán with an army to Címera,¹ and after all this, as his plans did not succeed well, he made a truce at Nice, whither the Pope came. A little later he and the Emperor met at Aigues Mortes, and not long after in Paris. On account of all this it was thought that never again would strife break out between the two. But the King, because the Emperor did not give him Milan as he wished, stirred up war in Luxemburg, Artois, Brabant, and Roussillon, and brought on the Turkish fleet with Barbarossa, on the pretext that the Emperor had broken the truce of Nice by murdering Caesar Fregoso and Hernando² Rinçon; and in this way he drew the war into the realm of France, where he was attacked by the King of England in Picardy, while the Emperor pushed his armies as far as Châlons, but just as the struggle reached its hottest, and his countrymen were getting desperate, peace was made. His relations with King Henry VIII of England were briefly as follows: he made peace with him thrice and war twice, not counting the raids of the King of Scotland, and they had two or more interviews with one another besides.

The uprising against the Spaniards in Naples, lasting three days, because the Viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, put to death two young citizens who were taking a cleric out of the hands of the police, and because, after this outburst, the Viceroy desired to take Caesar Mormilla prisoner; although the principal trouble was because a Spanish woman broke the arm of a Neapolitan with a stone mortar which she threw out of her window.³

¹ Or Khimara, on the mainland near Corfu. Cf. Ursu, *Politique Orientale de François I^{er}*, pp. 101 ff. ² Cf. *ante*, note 1, p. 111.

³ Sandoval, ii. 460 ff.; Léva, iv. 341 ff.

The revolt in Genoa of Count Gian Luigi Fieschi, in which he and Giannetin Doria, a noble sea-captain, met their deaths.¹

The Pope commanded the Council of Trent to move to Bologna, in order to bring its sessions to an end, for that was what he wanted, but most of the Spanish bishops remained where they were.²

The Pope calls back the troops which were with his grandson, Duke Ottavio Farnese, aiding the Emperor, because the latter's victory and prosperity were grievous to him.³

King Henry of France renews the lifelong alliance of his father Francis with the Swiss, and admits to it also the Pope and the Kings of Portugal, Poland, Scotland, and Denmark and other rulers.⁴ And Counts Agostino Landi, Gian Anguissola, Geronimo and Alessandro Pallavicini slay Duke Pier Luigi Farnese in his own castle, as a tyrant and Frenchman, in accordance with the desire of the municipal council of Piacenza. They hang him by the feet from a window so that all men might see him, and afterwards throw him into the cellar, where they mutilated his body as his crimes deserved, for he was cruel and a most terrible sodomite, and even did violence to a bishop, who died of his anger at this affront.⁵

Piacenza gives itself up to Fernando Gonzaga for the Emperor.⁶

Pope Paul III and King Henry of France and the Swiss made a league, which they call defensive, against the Emperor in fear of his power and justice, the King on behalf of Savoy, and the Pope on behalf of the Council and of Piacenza.⁷

¹ Leva, iv. 236 ff., 350 ff.; Armstrong, li. 173-4.

² Armstrong, ii. 166.

³ Armstrong, ii. 161.

⁴ Cf. De Vaissière, *Charles de Marillac*, cap. v.

⁵ Sept. 10. Sandoval, ii. 466. Cf. also Navenne, in *Revue Historique*, vol. lxxvii, p. 241 ff., vol. lxxviii, p. 8 ff.

⁶ Sept. 12. Leva, iv. 369.

⁷ Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 147; Leva, iv. 369 ff., 397 ff., 422 ff., v. 11 ff.

The Councils remain in Aranda de Duero, while Prince Philip holds Cortes in Monçon.¹

Francisco de los Cobos dies in Ubeda, his birthplace,² who from a minor secretary of López de Conchillos came to be Commendador Mayor de Leon, Señor de Sabiote, and a very rich man, and married his daughter to Don Gonzalo Hernández de Córdova, grandson of the Great Captain, Duke of Sessa and Count of Cabra, and his son to Doña N. de Luna, Marchioness of Camaraça. He was stout, good looking, gay, merry, and a good talker, hard-working and secret, so that he gained the favour of the Emperor quite completely, for all the affairs of Italy, the Indies, and Spain passed under his hand for many years. Moreover, he got the governorship of Caçorla for his son, Diego de los Cobos, as a heritable possession, and this was done through the meanness of Cardinal Juan Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo, who allowed it, in order to get the primacy for himself. He was very ambitious and so overrode the other secretaries and ministers, such as Secretary Antonio Villegas, and Jean Allemand. He had the gift of practically all the offices of Castile which depended on the Secretariate and fell vacant in his time, and of those of the Indies, and he got into trouble over the Italian ones with Diego de Idiaquez, his creature and servant, because he did not keep the office for administering them in his own house. He was envious and niggardly, and took presents right and left, whereby he became excessively rich. He was good to his friends, and so did favours for many who did not deserve them, though not without offending good men in the process; and he even took away offices and benefices and pensions from those to whom the Emperor wished to give them, in order to bestow them on those whom he himself appointed, for the which he was known and slandered by many; and at last even the Emperor got wind of it in the affairs of the relatives of his son-in-law and of his wife, Doña Maria de Mendoza, daughter of the Adelantado of Galicia. He was much addicted to the game of primero and the company of

¹ Sandoval, ii. 469.

² Ibid.

women, often feigning illness in order to get recreation from State affairs. He showed clearly that it grieved him to die, nor would he believe that his hour had come, and therefore his last moments were not such as to leave him a good reputation.

A *chancillería* is started in New Granada in the Indies.¹

Death of Hernando Cortés, a most illustrious leader, who may be ranked among the most distinguished men of our day.²

Truce for five years between Solyman and the King of the Romans and the Emperor.³

The regulation made by Juan Martínez Siliceo, Archbishop of Toledo, for the purification of that Holy Church, which was doubtless very obnoxious to those of Jewish descent.⁴

Arnould le Ferron of Bordeaux relates the doings of King Louis and King Francis in Latin. He is no bad author, though he speaks carelessly as Frenchmen do, and slanders the Spaniards.⁵

Nicolas Gilles also writes of the same Kings of France.⁶

The Aragonese, by decree of the Cortes of Monçon and with the approval of the Prince, confer the title of official chronicler on Jerónimo Zurita, a learned, discreet, and very honest man.⁷ He is writing the History of the Kings of Aragon and of the Counts of Barcelona, carefully, clearly, and truthfully, and another book called a History of the deeds of King Ferdinand the Catholic, containing events which occurred after the capture of Granada till his death.

¹ Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, p. 274.

² Dec. 2. Sandoval, ii. 470.

³ June 19. Hammer, iii. 275 ff.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 470.

⁵ Le Ferron wrote *Pauli Aemilii historiae continuatio usque ad annum 1547*, Paris, 1550.

⁶ A mistake; Gilles' chronicle ends with the year 1483; cf. Introduction, p. xxxiii.

⁷ May 31, 1548. Latassa, *Bibliotecas de Escritores Aragoneses*, iii. 425-35; Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.* i. 604.

The Year 1548

The Emperor summons a Diet to Augsburg, and pending a decision to the contrary by a General Council of the Church admonishes all the heretics in Germany to observe twelve articles: namely, original sin, redemption, justification, works, remission of sins, the mass, the saints, the Resurrection, the Communion, the ceremonies, and all the sacraments of the Church, and the authority of the Pope and of his ministers.¹

Meantime many Lutheran lords and cities fail to declare for him in spite of their promise, wherefore two thousand Spaniards attempt to take Constance, but are unable to do so on account of the death of their leader, Alonzo Vivas, a Neapolitan; but what could not be accomplished by force was soon after effected by craft.²

Prince Philip holds Cortes in Valladolid, which were protracted and inefficient.³ In them it was asked that no female head of cattle be slain for meat, in order that the herds might multiply, and that the whole realm should redeem the Moluccas, in order that Spain might have the benefit of their spice-trade, if only for six years; but the Emperor would not listen to it, as a good brother to his brothers, or else because of the deceitfulness of the undertaking.⁴

This year was dry, lean, and dear. In Valladolid beef was worth seven maravedís a pound, and goats' flesh ten

¹ The Diet met Sept. 1, 1547. The Interim became law, by virtue of a Recess of the Diet, June 30, 1548. Cf. Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, tr. Freese, iii. 154-6.

² Sandoval, ii. 473-4; Armstrong, ii. 200.

³ Met April 4, closed Nov. 8. Colmeiro, *Cortes de Leon y Castilla*, v. 346-484; Sandoval, ii. 487.

⁴ It is worth remarking that the *cuadernos* contain no mention of this petition to redeem the Moluccas, and that the statement of Sandoval about it, on which many subsequent accounts are based, is copied directly from Gómara. As the latter, however, was almost certainly living in Valladolid at the time, his information may well have been exact. Cf. Sandoval, ii. 487; Colmeiro's Introduction to the *Cortes de Leon y Castilla*, ii. 230; Armstrong, ii. 112-13; and paragraph 3 of the year 1529 of this work.

and a half, and oil nineteen, and the latter would have cost more had it not been for the whale oil. A pound of wax candles was worth twenty-one maravedís, a pound of pears, eggs, and prunes twelve, a load of water four, and a bundle of straw four also, prices which never had been seen in Castile.¹

The Licenciado Pedro Gasca, who now is Bishop of Plasencia, pacifies the provinces of Peru, causing Gonzalo Pizarro to be decapitated after the battle of Xaquixaguana, and dividing up a million and a half of money, the which was a notable affair.²

Prince Philip sets up his court at Valladolid after the Burgundian fashion, abandoning the custom of Castile, which ought to have been kept, if only on account of its antiquity. The Duke of Alva was Lord High Steward, and Pedro Giron, Count of Olivares, Pedro de Ávila, Marquis de las Navas, Gutierre López de Padilla, and Don Diego de Azeredo were his subordinates. Antonio de Toledo of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was Master of the Horse, and Antonio de Rojas, Ruy Gomes de Silva, Juan de Silva, Count of Cifuentes, Juan de Benavides, and Fadrique de Toledo, Commendador of Calatrava, were gentlemen of the chamber. Gomes de Figueroa, who afterwards inherited the countship of Feria, was Captain of the Spanish Guard, and a German of the German Guard, and the Count of Hornes of the Archers. Many principal knights and men of wealth and position were attached to the King's person.³

Marriage of the Archduke Maximilian, son of the King of the Romans, and the Infanta Maria, daughter of the Emperor, at Valladolid.⁴ The Constable Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, accompanied by many gentlemen, went forth to receive them at Olivares, with a great retinue and much expense.

Bartolomé de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, manages to

¹ Sandoval, ii. 489, copies this.

² April 8. Gómara, *Hist. de las Indias*, pp. 271 ff.; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ii. 419 ff.

³ Sandoval, i. 487, plagiarizes.

⁴ Sept. 13; Sandoval, ii. 488.

prevent the publication of the *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, which the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo showed to the Consejo Real de Castilla in order to get permission to print it.¹

The Prince goes over to Italy with the galleys and other armed ships, as described by his servant and follower, Cristóval de Calvete, in *El felicissimo Viaje*.²

The Archduke Maximilian and his wife, the Infanta Maria, are left as Regents of Castile and Aragon.³

Mules cease to be used, though many people a short time before had paid as high as fifty ducats for a licence to do so.⁴

The Pope, the King of France, and the Swiss announce their defensive league.

The Emperor takes the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave with him to Brussels as prisoners.

The people of Bordeaux and of Poitiers rise in rebellion against the King of France, because of the increased price of salt. But the Constable Anne de Montmorency went there with an army and chastised them, beheading the chiefs of the revolt and depriving all the revolutionists of their arms and privileges, destroying city halls, and making cannon out of their bells.⁵ Whenever rebels fail to carry out their intentions they are not only lost, but also increase the wealth and power of their lord, as was the case in the rebellions in Bohemia, in Ghent, in England, and in Castile, although the Emperor did not employ severity in the latter case.

King Henry brings to France his daughter-in-law, the Queen of Scotland, who was less than seven years old, in order to acquire that kingdom.⁶

Sigismund of Poland, who had reigned prosperously

¹ Cf. *ante*, Introduction, p. xxxiii, and *Annals*, p. 101. Also Antonio, *Bibl. Hist. Nov.*, i. 555; and Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, i. 559-63. The second part of Oviedo's work was not published till 1850.

² Sandoval, ii. 488; Antonio, *Bibl. Hist. Nov.*, i. 677-8.

³ Sandoval, ii. 474.

⁵ Martin, viii. 380 ff. Decrue, ii. 56 ff.

⁶ Sailed Aug. 7, arrived Aug. 13. Mary was not six years old at the time.

forty-two years and lived eighty, dies.¹ He won many victories over the Tartars, Muscovites, and Moldavians. He kept peace with the Turks, having taken warning from the experience of his neighbours. He converted Lithuania and was a loyal Catholic.

Maximilian, Count of Buren, dies in Flanders, a most excellent military leader, a cautious though illiterate statesman, and a great patron of virtuosos and of men who excelled in any single art. He died at the very hour and minute that the doctors had prophesied for many days before, and so departed this life well and joyfully.²

Mohammed, the Sherif who made himself King of Morocco, takes Fez. According to reports he had eighty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, fifteen thousand of them blacks, and a great number of camels, and twenty thousand spearmen, whom he obtained from France, together with other arms and munitions, for he was in constant correspondence with King Henry.³

Sultan Mustafa, son of Solyman and Roxalana, goes over to the Shah in fear of being murdered by his half-brother Selim, whose mother was called Jalbahat Khasseki before the Empire.⁴

War in Tabriz between the Turks and the Persians, in which those who were slain and died by disease numbered more than one hundred and sixty thousand men.⁵

¹ April 1, at Cracow. He was eighty-one, not eighty, at the time of his death.

² *Allg. deutsche Biog.*, iii. 584-5.

³ Marmol, *Histoire des Chérifs*, caps. lxvii-lxix; Mercier, iii. 68-9, puts the Chérif's army at 30,000, and states that he entered Fez Feb. 15, 1550; A. Cour, *Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc*, pp. 8-24, gives the date 1549.

⁴ This paragraph is wrong from beginning to end. Selim, not Mustafa, was the son of Roxalana. Mustafa never went over to the Shah, but was put to death by Solyman in 1553 just before the Persian campaign. 'Jalbahat' is doubtless a mistake for 'Gulbehar' or 'Rose of Spring', a favourite Turkish female name. 'Khasseki' may best be translated 'concubine du jour'; cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, i. 681. 'Before the Empire' may possibly refer to the fact that Mustafa was born before Solyman became Sultan in 1520. Cf. Jorga, iii. 123; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii. 23 ff.

⁵ Hammer, iii. 284 ff.

The Year 1549

Prince Philip arrives in Brussels, where his father, accompanied by his sisters, the widowed Queens of France and of Hungary, awaited him with ardent longing.¹

All the states of Flanders and of the so-called Netherlands swear allegiance, one by one, to the Prince, who visited them all.²

Those states of Flanders which hitherto were divisible became henceforth entailed, and inheritable only by eldest sons.³

The Moriscos of Aragon beg leave to become Moors again, on the ground that the faith ought not to be a matter of compulsion, and that their masters did not object.⁴

The Bohemians, abandoning their ancient custom of freely electing their king, accept as their sovereign Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, swearing loyalty to him and to his descendants, a change which was effected rather by force than by persuasion.⁵

Maximilian grants life to a certain George Diaz, a Galician of Cabo Porferrada, whom the officials of the Hermandad were bringing to Valladolid to shoot to death with arrows as a thief; such a thing had never been done in Castile before.

This year and the year before, Francisco de Artiaga and Pedro Gomez his brother, purveyors of cloth of their Highnesses, keep a gambling house with the royal licence. A little afterwards Pedro Gomez de Artiaga happened to win over ninety thousand crowns in money at play. The Alcaldes de la Corte sentenced him as a gambler to a fine of six hundred ducats, and forbade him to gamble any more. But he paid the fine and appealed against the prohibition, either because of his excessive fondness for play or because he had not finished paying his debts, despite the great sums he had won.

¹ In April. Sandoval, ii. 488-9; Henne, viii. 365 ff.

² Henne, viii. 377 ff.

³ Henne, viii. 387 ff. The so-called Pragmatic Sanction.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 490.

⁵ Feb. 14. Ibid., and *Allg. deutsche Biog.*, xx. 737.

Bernardino de Mendoza captures with his galleys four French ships containing arms for the Sherif.

The Sherif captures Algiers and Velez de Gomera, and some strong places which the Portuguese held in Barbary.¹

Bu Hassan, King of Veles, went to Flanders to ask aid of the Emperor as his ally against the Sherif, but he did not get it, and therefore allied himself with the Turks of Algiers and recovered his state.²

A quarrel arises between the Canons of Valladolid and Pedro Manuel, Archbishop of Santiago and principal chaplain to the King, as to which of them should conduct the celebration of Corpus Christi, because King Maximilian was to take part in the procession; and because the Canons of the Iglesia Mayor were not present at it, they exiled five of them to Portugal, and punished the Chapter every man according to his deserts.³

The Castilian Provincial of the Franciscan Friars is rightly exiled because he would not allow the nuns of Las Gordillas to receive the Marchioness of Monte Mayor.

The judges of the Royal Council examine the books of the merchants of Old Castile, and make great efforts to find out how gold was taken out of the realm and who took it; but although the fact was indubitable, no remedy could be found.⁴

Missing.⁵

The Year 1550

The encounter of Bernardino de Mendoza and certain corsairs.⁶

¹ Godard, *Description et Histoire du Maroc*, p. 464; Marmol, *Histoire des Chérifs*, cap. lxxii. 'Algiers' is doubtless a mistake for Aguer or Cabo de Agua.

² Marmol, *L'Afrique*, ii. 255; *Histoire des Chérifs*, caps. xc, c-civ; Cour, pp. 83-4.

³ This paragraph is quoted, with proper acknowledgements, in the *Aula Sacra Principum Belgii* of Jules Chifflet the Franche-Comté historian (ed. of 1656, Antwerp, cap. xi, pp. 40-1).

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 490.

⁵ B.M. MS. has 'Falta una oja' ('one leaf is missing') in the manuscript (either the original or an early copy) from which the transcription was made. The fact that the text contains no reference to such events as the death of Paul III (Nov. 10, 1549) and the election of his successor confirms this.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 502.

The victory which Gasca de las Contreras won.

The capture of Africa by Juan de Vega, viceroy of Sicily.¹

Friendship between King Henry of France and King Edward VI of England, who, being a child, was deceived into returning Boulogne by the bad advice of his councillors.²

King Henry increases the value of money in France in order that it should not be taken out of his realms, and that it should come in to him from foreign lands.³

Nicolas Perrenot, Sieur de Granvelle, dies.⁴ He was much beloved by the Emperor, whose ambassador, secretary, and councillor he was for a long time in all his dealings, especially with the French and the Germans. He was careful, efficient, and influential for a man who was of no birth. He became very rich, I know not whether by fair means, and he revenged himself craftily upon his enemies, whom he regarded as envious of his good fortune, as, for example, the Confessor Pedro de Soto and the Licentiate Juan de Figueroa. He left many sons, all of them in good positions, especially the Secretary Antoine Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, who is certainly a person of importance in diplomacy, in council, in his knowledge of languages, and even in literary matters.

Hassan, King of Tunis, dies.⁵

The Year 1551

Prince Philip returns to Spain.⁶

The Navarrese swear allegiance to the Prince at Tudela.⁷

Maximilian takes his wife Queen Maria to Bohemia.⁸

¹ September 10, 1551. Sandoval, ii. 496; de Rotalier, cap. xx; Mercier, iii. 72. 'Africa' is of course El-Mehdia, the head-quarters of Dragut.

² Mar. 24. Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, p. 140.

³ Cf. E. Levasseur, *Mémoire sur les Monnaies*, in *Nouvelle Série des Ordonnances des Rois de France* (1902), vol. i, pp. clxxiv-clxxv.

⁴ Aug. 28, in Augsburg.

⁵ Or Muley-Haçen. Sandoval, ii. 504.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 545.

⁷ Ibid. ii. 528.

⁸ *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xx. 737.

Leon Strozzi, Prior of Capua, with twenty-seven French galleys, seizes a Spanish galley and certain ships at Barcelona during a time of truce.¹

The King of France also seizes thirteen merchant vessels with rich cargoes which were in his harbours, which was tantamount to declaring war.²

Sinan the Turk takes Tripoli in Barbary with the connivance of the French.³

Duke Ottavio Farnese allies himself with the King of France, and abandons his father-in-law, the Emperor, which was the cause of many wars.⁴

The Council returns to Trent, in accordance with a bull of Pope Julius III, with great hopes of accomplishing good.⁵

Pope Julius, aided by the Emperor, besieges Parma and Mirandola, but in vain.⁶

Ahmed, King of Tunis, makes a truce with Nuño de la Cueva, promising to keep the agreements of his father Hassan with the Emperor.⁷

Antonio de Orio⁸ loses eight galleys in a storm at Pantelaria as he was setting sail to attack Africa.

The King of the Romans is given Transylvania through the instrumentality of Friar George of Croatia, who brings Queen Isabella and her son Stephen to Vienna.⁹

War in Transylvania between the Turks with the Beglierbeg of Greece, and the King of the Romans with Giovanni Battista Castaldo, in which there was a Spanish division under the Field-General Aldava.¹⁰

Friar George of Croatia, Cardinal and Bishop of Varadin,

¹ Sandoval, ii. 517.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. ii. 520; de Rotalier, cap. xxii; Mercier, iii. 73.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 516, 521; Armstrong, ii. 240-1.

⁵ Leva, v. 190 ff.; Moeller, tr. Freese, iii. 240.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 521; Leva, v. 202 ff.; Armstrong, ii. 241 ff.

⁷ I can find no corroboration of this statement. Cf. Marmol, *Le Royaume de Tunis*, in his *L'Afrique*, vol. ii, pp. 489 ff.; and A. Rousseau, *Annales Tunisiennes*, pp. 23-4.

⁸ Probably a mistake for Andrea Doria: cf. Sandoval, ii. 517, and *ante*, note 1, p. 144.

⁹ cf. *ante*, p. 111, n. 4; also Huber, iv. 159.

¹⁰ Huber, iv. 168; Hammer, iii. 290. 'Beglierbeg of Greece' should be 'Beglierbeg of Rumelia' (Mohammed Sokolli).

is put to death by the sword at Alvincz while a prisoner in the hands of Sforza Pallavicino and of Marco Antonio Ferrari, Secretary of Giovanni Battista [Castaldo], because he allied himself with the Turks against the King of the Romans. The Pope showed great severity to the murderers of the Cardinal, excommunicating those who committed the crime and their abettors.¹

Ferdinand de San Severino, Prince of Salerno, goes over to the King of France, because of his hatred of the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, who discovered his treacherous dealings.²

Queen Maria causes certain merchandize to be taken from the French in Flanders in return for the affair of the merchant vessels.³

King Henry of France intrigues with many Germans against the Emperor.⁴

The King of France enters Lorraine, and seizes the person of Duke Charles, telling the Duchess Christina, his mother, that he intended to marry him to one of his daughters.⁵

The King of France captures Metz in Lorraine, having with him over fifty companies of soldiers, and three regiments, which they say were composed of Germans, with Sebastian Schärtlin, the Rhinegrave, and Reckenrot, and fifteen hundred men-at-arms, and twenty-five hundred light cavalry.⁶

The King of France, entering Germany with an army, is amicably received in Strassburg and Hagenau, and other places, but soon after returns in accordance with the wishes of those who summoned him, and because a Flemish army was entering his own land.⁷

Count Adrian de Roeulx captured Stenay, which was

¹ Dec. 18. Huber, iv. 166 ff.; Hammer, iii. 297.

² Sandoval, ii. 548, 555.

³ Ibid. ii. 517. Cf. also *ante*, paragraph 5 of this year.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 529; Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, pp. 145-6.

⁵ In March, 1552. Armstrong, ii. 249; Decrue, ii. 117 ff.

⁶ April 10, 1552. Lavissee, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 149. The Rhinegrave was Philippe de Salm. On Reckenroth cf. Courteault, pp. 13, 233.

⁷ May-July, 1552. Cf. Decrue, ii. 121 ff.; Sandoval, ii. 531; Lavissee, vol. v, pt. ii, pp. 150 ff.

defended by Bourdillon with nearly four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot.¹

The King of France captures Damvillers, Ivoy, and Bouillon, and other places.²

Marco Guazzo's chronicle continues up to this year. Though his own Italians call him a charlatan, he displays much diligence in writing his history.³

The Year 1552

Duke Maurice supports the King of France against the Emperor, and they enter into an alliance through the instrumentality of Jean de Fraisse, Bishop of Bayonne.⁴

Duke Maurice causes the Emperor, who was ill-prepared, to flee from Innsbruck, because he did not release the Landgrave, his father-in-law.⁵

The Emperor releases Frederick, Duke of Saxony.⁶

The Margrave Albert of Brandenburg wages a cruel war against Wolfgang, the Grand Master of Prussia, and against Nuremberg, a very rich city, and against the Bishops of Bamberg and Frankfort, Worms, Spire, Mainz, and Treves.⁷

Peace between the Emperor and Duke Maurice arranged by King Ferdinand at Passau, with the stipulation that the Landgrave should be released.⁸

The Siennese drive out Francis de Alava, who had with him six hundred Spaniards, with the aid of the King of France, to whom they surrender themselves with all the honours of war. They destroy the fortress built in the city by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, ambassador in Rome, on whom

¹ This is quite inexact. Stenay was taken in early May, 1552, by the Count of Mansfeld. Cf. Henne, ix. 201. Sandoval (ii. 532) erroneously states that it was captured by Martin van Rossem.

² Sandoval, ii. 532; Decrue, ii. 125 ff.

³ 'Cronica . . . di fatti recorsi dal principio del mondo sino a questi tempi.' Venice, 1553.

⁴ Treaty of Chambord, Jan. 14.

⁵ Armstrong, ii. 252 ff.

⁶ Sept. 1. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xiv. 329.

⁷ Ibid. i. 254-5; Sandoval, ii. 535.

⁸ August 2. Cf. Barge, *Verhandlungen zu Linz und zu Passau*.

our people lay the blame for this war, and even the Siennese confess that in trying to kill him they killed the horse on which he was mounted when riding past the fortress one day.¹

The Prince holds Cortes at Monçon, the delegates having few instructions from their constituents.²

The noble battle near Oran in which Don Martin of Córdoba with eleven thousand horse and five thousand Spanish foot-soldiers captures the King of Tlemcen, who was bringing thirty thousand Mors to his master Solyman.³

The Infanta Joanna goes to Portugal to wed King John. Pedro de Acosta, Bishop of Osma, Diego Lopez de Pacheco, Duke of Escalona, Luis Vanegas, the Purveyor-in-chief, and Lorenzo Pérez, ambassador of the King of Portugal, accompanied her. The Duke of Aveyro and the Bishop of Coimbra received her at the Caya.⁴

Sinan the Turk captures seven galleys from Prince Andrea Doria in Ponza.⁵

The Emperor besieges Metz in Lorraine in October with the biggest army he ever collected at his own expense, for according to his pay-roll he had six thousand Spaniards, four thousand Italians, forty-nine thousand Germans of the Upper and Lower Rhine, five thousand sappers, ten thousand horse in addition to his immediate attendants, one hundred and twenty-seven pieces of artillery, seventeen thousand cannon-balls, four thousand quintals of powder, and six thousand horses to drag the artillery and ammunition. The Duke of Alva was his general-in-chief.⁶

Bustan Pasha brings a great army to fight against the

¹ Sandoval, ii. 537; Sozzini in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ii. 73 ff., 518 ff.; Armstrong, ii. 282-5.

² Sandoval, ii. 549.

³ This is doubtless the battle mentioned in Ruff, *Domination Espagnole à Oran*, p. 131. See also General Sandoval in the *Revue Africaine*, vol. xv, p. 283. The Turkish King of Tlemcen was apparently a certain Hamida. I have taken the 'almere' of the text as a mistake for 'al emir', which may be roughly translated 'to his ruler' or 'master', as I have done.

⁴ Sandoval (ii. 549) plagiarizes here. The Caya or Caia joins the Guadiana just below Badajoz. 'King John' should be 'Prince John'.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 548-9; Petit, p. 321.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 536-7; Armstrong (ii. 269) tells us that the total besieging force 'is said to have numbered 75,000'.

Sophy, and loses many men, for the Janizaries were unwilling to fight against Mustafa.¹

The Turks capture Temesvár in Transylvania and other towns of the King of the Romans.²

Great wars and rebellions take place in Wallachia.

The Year 1553

The Emperor loses many men and horses at Metz, through sickness and cold, and therefore raised the siege.³

Count Adrian de Roeulx dies at Théroutanne. He was the Emperor's generalissimo at that place and had been his Lord High Steward, and his Majesty trusted him much in great affairs.⁴

Capture and sack of Théroutanne, a very strong place. Philibert Emmanuel, Prince of Savoy, was General-in-chief of the Emperor, and Juan Velez de Guevara was field-general of the Spaniards. It was through the latter's valour that the town was taken.⁵

The capture of Hesdin, whose castle was exceedingly strong, by the Prince of Piedmont, the Spaniards being led by Luis Mendes Quixada de Villa Garcia, steward of the Emperor.⁶

Pedro de Toledo dies in Florence as he was coming on to lay siege to Siena.⁷ He was Marquis of Villa Franca in right of his wife, and because of his valour he was made Comendador de Azgava and Viceroy of Naples. He was a man of weight and authority, and so fulfilled his duties well. He exercised his powers to the utmost, a fact which caused him to be disliked by many, although this was also because he was so harsh. He got much money out of that realm for the Emperor, through taxes and loans. He greatly enriched the city with fountains, streets, and pave-

¹ Hammer, iii. 312; also *ante*, note 4, p. 141.

² Ibid. iii. 501.

³ In January.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 551-2; Armstrong, ii. 273.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ July 17. Decrue, ii. 142-3.

⁷ Sandoval (ii. 547) plagiarizes here. Armstrong, ii. 168-71.

ments, and with the castle of San Martin,¹ which he made very strong. He was likewise a gambler, a heavy eater, and very arrogant.

King Henry of France follows the Imperial army with his own very powerful force, and catches up with it and prepares for battle at the town of Valenciennes, which the Emperor had entered a little before, but he turned and went no further when brought face to face with a few Spaniards who were awaiting him outside the town.²

Prince Philip negotiates for a marriage with the Infanta Maria of Portugal, daughter of King Manuel and sister of his own mother, the Empress, which was a very great impediment.³

The Prince makes great gifts out of his own property to Ruy Gomes de Silva, who wedded the daughter and heiress of the Count of Mileto, and to Juan de Benavides, who also wedded the heiress of Pedro de Navarra, Marquis of Cortes.

Edward VI, King of England, dies at the age of sixteen years, there being suspicions of poison.⁴ Though he had two sisters, he left as his successors on the throne his cousins, the daughters⁵ of that Mary who married Louis XII, King of France, and afterwards Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and this was done at the inducement of John, Duke of Northumberland, his guardian and counsellor. The Duke of Northumberland proclaimed as Queen of England Jane, who was the elder daughter⁶ of Mary, who had been Queen of France, and of the Duke of Suffolk, and who was also his own daughter-in-law through her marriage to his son Guildford, Earl of Warwick.⁶

Mary, Princess of Wales, eldest and legitimate daughter of Henry VIII, proclaims herself Queen of England, raises an army, takes the field, and awaits the attack of the Duke of Northumberland, who was moving against her with an

¹ *Sic* for 'Santelmo'. 'San Martin' is the name of a Carthusian monastery near by.

² Sandoval, ii. 553 ff.; Decrue, ii. 146.

³ Sandoval, ii. 557.

⁴ July 6. Sandoval, ii. 557; Pollard, *Political History of England, 1547-1603*, p. 88. On the suspicions of poison cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xvii. 89.

⁵ Should of course be 'grand-daughters'.

⁶ Guildford Dudley never had this title.

army; but he gave himself up without fighting, and soon after was beheaded as a traitor, and after him his son Guildford and his daughter-in-law.¹

The Prince of Salerno and the French ambassador bring on the Turkish fleet to support the King of France.²

The Turks seize the Strait of Bonifacio off Corsica for the King of France, through the treachery of Antonio Caneto of Genoa.³

The King of France brings up one hundred and thirty companies of soldiers and more than six thousand cavalry.

The Year 1554

John, Prince of Portugal, dies, leaving his wife pregnant.⁴

Birth of Sebastian, Prince of Portugal, who is king there now.⁵

Prince Philip goes to marry Queen Mary of England.⁶

The Infanta Joanna, recently widowed, is regent in Castile and Aragon.⁷ Honorato Juan, a Valencian gentleman, begins to act as tutor of the Infante Don Carlos, our master. He was a man of great learning, wise, sober, upright, prudent, and capable of discharging that office, and moreover he was the man who had been chosen to teach the King, our master, when the Emperor desired to remove Siliceo.

The Emperor abdicates the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan in favour of his son, and this abdication, brought over by the Regent Figueroa, was proclaimed at Winchester when Philip celebrated his marriage with the Queen.⁸

Saint-André, the Maréchal de France, captures Marienburg, a strong place, owing to the negligence of Captain Martin.⁹

¹ Sandoval, ii. 557; Pollard, pp. 89 ff.

² Sandoval, ii. 555-6.

³ Ibid. and Decrue, ii. 137.

⁴ Sandoval, ii. 560.

⁵ Ibid. Sebastian succeeded his grandfather as King of Portugal, June 11, 1557.

⁶ July 13.

⁷ Sandoval, ii. 561.

⁸ Ibid., p. 563.

⁹ June 27. Decrue, ii. 152.

Henry, King of France, taking the field with thirty thousand soldiers, of whom eight thousand were Lanzknechts and eight thousand Swiss, and with six thousand horse and many cannon, captures Dinant.¹ Captain Julian Romero, who had entered the place a little before with some Spaniards, was captured there through his own fault and ignorance as he went forth to discuss terms of surrender. Valour and prudence seldom abide in the same man.

The King of France enters and fires the county of Hainault with his army, and destroys Binche and Marimont, Queen Maria's pleasure resorts.

The King of France lays siege to Renty, which caused hatred and tribulation in the lands of the Emperor.³

The battle near Renty between the Emperor and the King of France, in which the Spanish arquebusiers, at first successful under Captain Alonzo Navarrete, were finally routed.⁴

The King of France abandons the siege of Renty in ear, although he celebrated the battle there as a victory, because he had captured certain pieces of artillery and many banners.⁵

The King of France follows the Emperor, devastating and burning the lands through which he passed.⁶

The Emperor fortifies Hesdin at great expense, because it was an important place.⁷

The war in Corsica between the French, under Paul de Termes, and the Genoese, aided by the Emperor with Spanish funds and men. The latter were led by Alonzo Luis de Lugo, governor of Teneriffe.⁸

The siege of Siena by Gian Giacomo de Medicino, Marquis of Marignano, on behalf of the Emperor and of Duke Cosimo of Florence.⁹

¹ July 12. Decrue, ii. 153. Sandoval (ii. 564) again plagiarizes.

² Decrue, ii. 154.

³ Ibid., pp. 155-6.

⁴ Aug. 13. Decrue, ii. 156.

⁵ Aug. 15. Sandoval, ii. 565; Decrue, ii. 157.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sandoval, ii. 556; Petit, cap. xvii.

⁹ Armstrong, ii. 287.

Piero Strozzi attacks the Marquis of Marignano at Basiana.¹

Leon Strozzi, Prior of Capua, and leader in the French wars, dies near Scarlino as the result of an arquebus shot.² The exiled Florentines, who desired to aid the French, expected great things of him.

The battle of Ponda, in which the Marquis of Marignano, Juan Manrique de Lara, who aided in the negotiations at Rome, Juan de Luna, Alcaide de Milan, Marco Antonio Colonna and Mario de Santa Fiore, won a victory over Piero Strozzi, General-in-chief of the galleys of France.³

The same leaders again conquer the same Piero Strozzi in a very bloody battle at Marciano, which broke the hearts of the French and likewise of the Siennese, for they killed many soldiers and nearly all the generals and the standard-bearer, and captured nine banners.⁴

Federigo Colonna also conquers Paul de Termes, as he was coming on from Corsica with a great army to succour Piero Strozzi, and captures seventeen French banners in the battle.⁵

Dragut the corsair, with a Turkish fleet which he brought on to the aid of the King of France, sacks Viesti in Apulia, a place belonging to the Duke of Sessa.⁶

Alliance of many cities, bishoprics, and German seignories against Margrave Albert of Brandenburg.⁷

The Year 1555

The English once more become Christians, as they used to be, and abandon all their heresies and errors, through

¹ Or Basciano, close to Siena. Cf. Amati, *Dizionario Corografico dell'Italia*, vol. i, p. 639.

² Courteault, p. 238.

³ July 14. Courteault, pp. 239 ff. 'Ponda' is the monastery of Sant'Abbondia, near Siena. Gómara has apparently got Leon and Piero Strozzi confused. Leon was commander of the galleys; Piero led the troops on land.

⁴ Aug. 2. Courteault, pp. 245 ff.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 566.

⁶ Cf. Amati, *Dizionario Corografico*, vol. viii, pt. ii, p. 1311; also Mitchell's translation of Haji Khalifeh's *Maritime Wars of the Turks*, p. 80, where Viesti is called 'Bastia'.

⁷ *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, i. 256; Sandoval, ii. 550-1.

the goodness of King Philip and of Queen Mary, his wife.¹

Queen Joanna, the Emperor's mother, dies at Tordesillas, where she lived without reigning about fifty years.²

The Emperor constructs a very strong fortress near Marienburg.³

The sad loss of Bugia, which the Turks won through the fault of Don Alonzo de Peralta, after Spain had preserved and defended it thirty-five years.⁴

Siena surrenders to the Marquis of Marignano on behalf of the Emperor after a siege of fifteen months.⁵

Pope Julius III dies.⁶

Pope Marcellus, whom all men mourned and praised, and whose pontificate lasted less than one month, dies also.⁷

Pope Paul IV, whom they call the Theatine, a Neapolitan of the house of Caraffa, takes the chair of St. Peter.⁸ Juan de Mendoza, who is now ambassador in Portugal, one of the oldest and wisest of Imperial courtiers, and a highly honoured gentleman, goes to convey to him assurance of the Imperial obedience.

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, goes out as Viceroy of Peru.⁹

Bernardino de Mendoza, Captain of the galleys, acts as Viceroy in Naples, the Duke of Alva being occupied in the war of Lombardy, and Cardinal Pedro Pacheco, who was Viceroy before, having come to Rome.¹⁰

Fernando Álvarez, Duke of Alva, goes out as viceroy and governor of Naples and Milan, Fernando de Gon-

¹ The formal reconciliation took place Nov. 30, 1554.

² Sandoval, ii. 566.

³ This refers to Charlemont and Philippeville. Sandoval, ii. 569; Armstrong, ii. 322.

⁴ Sept. 28. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo*, vol. i, p. 42; Sandoval, ii. 591; Mercier, iii. 80-1. 'Thirty-five years' should of course be forty-five. Cf. *ante*, p. 28.

⁵ April 17. Courteault, pp. 286 ff.

⁶ March 24.

⁷ April 30.

⁸ May 23.

⁹ Sandoval, ii. 591 ff. 'Diego' should be 'Andrés'.

¹⁰ Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, iii. 708.

zaga having been removed from Milan, for adequate reasons.¹

The Marquis of Marignano takes Porto Ercole by force of arms. A sack and some deaths occurred, and a French galley was captured.²

Margrave Albert of Brandenburg provokes a war in Germany against all his enemies. Duke Maurice, the Elector, conquers Margrave Albert of Brandenburg in Germany on the river Weser, but although he won the victory, he died of a wound after the battle, together with two sons of Duke Henry of Brunswick and many other people.³ The cavalry whom they call Schwarzreiters, and who carry three or even five arquebuses apiece, did great slaughter.

The Emperor prescribes Margrave Albert as a rebel.⁴

King Philip goes to England, to Naples, and to Flanders, and the Emperor summoned him from Brussels.⁵

The Duc d'Aumale captures Volpiano, which the Duke of Alva had provisioned, by battle and assault. He had four thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot with him. Caesar of Naples defended it, with over a thousand men of war and among them many Spaniards.⁶

Our men continue the war against the French victoriously.

The Emperor abdicates Flanders and the other states of the Low Countries in favour of his only son, King Philip, by public proclamation at Brussels.⁷

The French under Marshal Brissac capture Casale of Montferrat by night through a stratagem.⁸ It was defended by an army under Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, ambassador

¹ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, xxi. 227; Stokvis, iii. 769.

² Petit, p. 336. Porto Hercole was captured by Andrea Doria.

³ Obviously refers to the battle of Sievershausen, which occurred July 9, 1553. Sievershausen is not, of course, on the Weser.

⁴ Dec. 1, 1553. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, i. 251.

⁵ Philip left England for the Netherlands Aug. 29; he did not go to Naples at all.

⁶ Sept. 3-23. Courteault, pp. 301-4.

⁷ Oct. 25.

⁸ Casale was not taken, but Montcalvo fell Oct. 7. Cf. Courteault, pp. 307-8.

in Genoa, who at that time was governor of Milan, before the Duke of Alva was sent thither.

Failure to conclude a treaty of peace, in spite of long deliberation, at Marcq, a place between Ardres, Calais, and Gravelines,¹ where there assembled, on behalf of the Emperor, Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, Antoine Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, and the Presidents Viglius and Bryaerde,² and on behalf of the King of France and Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, the Bishops of Vannes and of Orleans, and Charles de Marillac,³ and Claude l'Aubépine, Secretary of State. The Englishman, Reginald Pole, was also present as Papal Legate, and laboured earnestly to promote the peace.

Doctor Juan Páez de Castro, a very learned man in many branches of knowledge, who plans to write a general history of Spain, assumes the title of official chronicler.⁴

The Duke of Alva besieges Santhià in Piedmont in vain.⁵ War near Marienburg between the Imperial and French armies.

The Pope, an old man, in hypocritical defiance of his duty, provokes a war, in his hatred of the Emperor, against Marco Antonio Colonna, and negotiates with the King of France about seizing the realm of Naples.⁶

Violent encounter between certain Flemish merchantmen and some ships of Dieppe.⁷

The Year 1556

On the 16th of January at Brussels, the Emperor voluntarily abdicates his realms and seigniories in favour of his

¹ On this affair cf. Henne, x. 184-5; *Venetian Cal.* vi. 54, 138; Weiss, *Papiers d'État de Granvelle*, iv. 442 n.; and Morel-Fatio, *Une Histoire inédite de Charles-Quint* in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxxix, pp. 30 ff.

² Lambert de Bryaerde, President of the Grand Conseil de Malines.

³ Marillac was Bishop of Vannes. Gómara accidentally repeats his name, and Sandoval, ii. 569, makes the same mistake.

⁴ Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii; Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nov.*, i. 751.

⁵ Sandoval, ii. 577-8; Courteault, pp. 300-1.

⁶ Sandoval, ii. 588.

⁷ Ibid. ii. 587-8.

son Philip for his lifetime, an act whose originality and greatness evoked the admiration of the world; but he retained the Empire, which for certain weighty reasons he had determined to leave to his brother, the King of the Romans. He then came by ship to Spain, bringing with him his sisters, Queens Eleanor and Maria, and betook himself to Yuste, a Hieronymite monastery, where he had caused a house to be constructed according to his own design, in order to live in holiness and peace.¹

Don Martin de Córdova, the Count of Alcaudete, defends Oran against the Turkish fleet and the corsairs of Algiers.²

Calvi in Corsica is twice besieged, once by Paul de Termes, and a second time by Captain Paulin, Sieur de la Garde, but they fail to capture it.³

War between the Pope and the Duke of Alva.⁴

The Licenciado Vaca de Castro is given his freedom after a ten years' imprisonment for his maladministration of the Indies, and on account of his ancients enters the Royal Council of Castile.⁵

The very rich mine of Gual del Canal is discovered.⁶

King Philip gives attention to the good government of his realms, by making peace and truce with the King of France.⁷

He wins the friendship of many lords and knights of Germany, giving them money and pensions.

He makes Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, Bishop of Trent, governor of Milan.⁸

He also makes Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza, Bishop of Burgos and Archdeacon of Toledo, governor in Siena, on the death of Francisco de Toledo, Archimandrite of

¹ Armstrong, ii. 355, 358, 359 n.

² Mercier, iii. 82-3; Rotalier, caps. xxvii, xxviii; Ruff, *La Domination Espagnole à Oran*, cap. xii.

³ In 1555. Cf. Courteault, p. 297; Petit, pp. 336-7.

⁴ Forneron, *Histoire de Philippe II*, i. 73 ff.

⁵ Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ii. 537-8.

⁶ Possibly 'Guad al Cazar', a part of Potosí.

⁷ Truce of Vaucelles, Feb. 5. Armstrong, ii. 355.

⁸ Stokvis, iii. 769.

Sicily, a cleric of ability and honour who governed it before.¹

He makes his cousin Philibert Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, governor of Flanders, giving him as councillors the Prince of Orange, and Counts Egmont, Meghem, Lalaing, and other important and experienced gentlemen.²

He puts into his Council of State Juan de Vega, Fernando de Gonzaga, Antoine Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, Juan Manrique de Lara, knight of Calatrava, Bernardino de Mendoza Captain of the Galleys, Ruy Gomes de Silva Count of Melito, Antonio de Toledo his Master of Horse, and a short time afterward Luis de Ávila, Comendador Mayor de Alcántara, and the Licenciado Juan de Figueroa, President of the High Court of Valladolid.³

He turns over the affairs of State to his secretary, Gonzalo Pérez, a very able cleric, and the other affairs of Castile and Italy to the Secretary Martin de Vargas.⁴

Antonio de Rojas, tutor to Prince Charles, dies.

García de Toledo, a gentleman of much goodness and virtue, is made tutor to our master, Prince Charles.

¹ Courteault, p. 321.

² Cabrera de Córdoba, op. cit., i. 37; Juste, *Les Pays-Bas sous Philippe II*, i. 90; Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, iii. 365 ff. All the names do not correspond in these accounts. Gómara was probably wrong in including Meghem.

³ Cabrera de Córdoba, op. cit., i. 37; Badoero's *Relazione di Carlo V e di Filippo II* (1557) in Alberi, *Relazione*, Series III, vol. i. 240 ff.

⁴ Cabrera de Córdoba, op. cit., i. 38.

THE END.

ANNALES DEL EMPERADOR
CARLOS QUINTO

ANNALES DEL EMPERADOR CARLOS QUINTO

AUTOR FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GÓMARA

Año de 1500

NACIÓ en Gante Carlos, hijo de Felipe Archiduque de Austria, é de Doña Juana Princesa de Castilla, á 25 de hebrero que fue bisexto y dia de San Mathias. Las cosas de cuyo tiempo acontecidas en diversas partes del Mundo, especial en España desde su nacimiento hasta que renunció todos sus Reinos y señorios en su hijo Don Felipe *nuestro* Señor, escribo aqui en suma por años. Cuento solamente de los años de nuestro Redemptor Jesus Christo, por que assi como es mejor contar, tambien es mas cierto; i no pongo mas del año sino pocas vezes, por *que* basta para ¹⁰ sumario, y ansi por que allo gran diferencia y contrariedad en los dias y aun en los meses de los mas negocios.

Era Papa entonces Alexandro sexto, *que* celebró jubileo con pocos peregrinos, a causa de las guerras y pestilencias de Italia.

Estauan los Cavalleros de San Juan en la cumbre de sus fuerças y oficio, siendo gran maestre Pedro de Abuson, mas despues que perdieron a Rhodas, y lo que tenian en Grecia, en Inglaterra y Alemania, descayeron mucho.

Era Emperador y Rey de Romanos Maximiliano, abuelo ²⁰ de Carlos, floreciendo entonces Alemaña en letras y christiandad, la qual ha perdido quasi del todo despues aca, con las heregias de Luthero y de otros falços y viciosos doctores.

Reinauan en Castilla y en Aragon los catholicos Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Isauel, abuelos de Carlos, que sin

duda entendieron bien el arte de Reinar. Tenian paz á la sazón en toda Hespaña sino en Granada que se alborotaron algunos moros, por lo qual les mandaron los Reyes *que* se
30 christianassen, o se fuessen de sus Reinos á consejo de Frai Hernando de Talauera, primer Arçobispo de Granada, y de Fray Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, Arçobispo de Toledo, confesores de la Reyna. Continuuauan la guerra de Berbería y el descubrimiento, conquista y conversion de los Indios, y ayudaron á los venecianos contra turcos, que todo era loable y santo. Florecian en España entonces las armas, la justicia, la religion y otras buenas cosas, juntamente con letras, todo lo qual ha ido de bien en mejor por gracia de Dios, y bondad del Emperador y assi tambien yrá de aquí
40 adelante por virtud del Rey Don Phelippe *nuestro* Señor. Ay empero gran diferencia de aquel tiempo á este en muchas cosas, como es en el trage, gasto, y precio de cosas, á causa, segun mi juizio, de la mucha plata y oro que de las Indias á nos han venido.

Muere en Granada el Principe Don Miguel, hijo del Rey Don Manuel, Rey de Portugal, y de la Reyna Princesa Doña Isabel, que auia de ser Rey de Portugal y Castilla.

Casa Doña Maria Infanta de Castilla con Don Manuel Rey de Portugal, los quales engendraron seis hijos, que fueron
50 Juan, Luis, Fernando, Alonso, Enrique, Duarte, y Doña Isabel que fue nuestra Emperatriz y á Doña Beatris, Duquesa que fue de Saboya.

Gonçalo Hernandez de Cordoba que mereció renombre de gran Capitan, fué a ganar la Cefalonia con armada española, en compañía de la veneçiana que lleuó Benito de Pessaro, capitan tambien excellente.

Reynaua en Cusco y Quito y otras infinitas prouincias del Perú, Guayna Capa, rey riquissimo, guerrero y ydolatra.

Era Rey en Navarra Don Juan, que perdió despues el
60 Reyno por schismatico, el qual uino a Seuilla estando allí este año los Reyes Catholicos; y en Portugal y Guinea Don Manuel, que hizo por sus capitanes grandes cosas en Assia, por traer a Lisboa la especiaría.

Reynaua en França Luis XII, el qual teniendo pacifico

su Reyno hazia guerra en Italia contra el Duque de Milan, y amenazaua al Rey de Napoles.

Estaua Inglaterra bien adelante reinando Enrique VIII, empero ha reçeuido aquella Isla muchos reueses despues acá, por dexar la verdadera religion christiana, bien que la han restaurado *nuestro* Rey Don Phelipe, y la Reyna Doña 70 Maria su muger, y nuestra Señora.

Era Rey de Vngria, y de Boemia Vladislao, y tenia paz con el Turco, que no era poco: y de Polonia Alexandro que no tuuo hijos.

Y de Moscovia Vassillo que acresentó la religion christiana, tomando la custumbre y ritos de Roma.

Y de Dinamarca, y Noruega, Juan padre de Christierno, que perdió sus reinos en los quales son ya lutheranos.

Y de Escosia Jacques, el qual nombre han tenido cinco 80 Reyes vno tras otro.

Reinaua en Napoles Fadrique que perdió el reyno partiendolo entre si Luis y Fernando; Venencianos, cuyo Duque a la sazón era Agustin Barbarico, favorecian al Rey de Francia contra el Duque de Milan, y tenian guerra en Grecia con Baiazet, que les puso en gran miedo y gasto.

El Duque de Milan Luis Sforça, perdió y cobró su estado y fué preso aquel mismo año, y lleuado a Francia, donde murió despues en jaula, que fué su pago por auer muerto a su sobrino Juan Galeaço Maria sforça, el cual era verda- 90 dero Duque.

Estaua Genoua por Françia, y auia muchos bandos en ella, pero despues ha mudado estado muchas vezes, vnas de franceses y otras de españoles, que como importa mucho de entrar en Italia, y para las cosas de mar todos la quieren; ha enriquecido sobre manera con la amistad del Emperador *nuestro* señor Rey, aunque tambien ha perdido a Bonifacio con gran parte de Córçega.

Florençia era libre, agora tiene señor por soberbia de sus ciudadanos, que se preciaron de franceses, no estimando al 100 Papa Leon, ni al Papa Clemente, sus vezinos, ni al Emperador Carlos V, su superior.

Sena que se gouernaua por si, no esta libre agora.

Era Duque de Sauoya Philibert, mas ya es deshecho aquel estado que tenia cinco Ciudades principales y L no tales, y C C villas cercadas.

Reynaua en Tunes Mahumet el qual tuuo muchos hijos en diferentes mugeres, que fue causa de grandes guerras.

En Bugia Abdalhaziz cuyo hijo la perdió.

110 En Tenez Baudilla que fue desheredado.

En Tremezen Abdalla.

En Fez Mahumet cuyo hera Oran.

Bayazet Otomano el II era Rey de los turcos en Constantinopla, y hazia terrible guerra contra Venezianos en la Morea, donde les ganó Amodon, Coron, y otros lugares.

Reynaua entre los Tartaros de Europa Mahomet y allende la Tana Tucio.

Era Soldan en Persia Asam.

Y en Hegyto Campson, cuyo sucesor tomó el gran Turco
120 Selim aquel gran señorío.

Canação Alguari Noad Gran reinaua en Ethiopia, que tambien llaman India.

Era Rey de Armenia y Capadocia Aladola.

Y de Samarcán Insilbao Tartaro de los Zoi-gatos, que traen los bonetes.

Y de Xorias Morad Cam.

Començó Ismael Sophi a tener fama y poderio, por aber ganado a Tauris haciendo huir al Rey Alban y matando este mesmo año a Morad Cam.

130 Era Ismael hijo del Seiscaider, señor de Erbe, lugar en Persia, y gran religioso del Alcoran aunque scismatico, y de Marta, nieta de Dauid Emperador de Trapisonda, y hija de Vsan Casan, Rey muy ilustre de Persia, donde reinó tras Usan su hijo Jacob, matando á dos hermanos suyos. Casó el Jacob con una muger *que* le dió el pago de aquella crueldad ca, por hecharse con Salub, le atosigó juntamente con vn hijo propio suyo, aunque tambien murió ella con las mesmas yeruas, haciendoselas beuer el marido, que las sintió. Reinó luego Salub como pariente mas cercano de
140 Jacob tres años; succedióle Baesurque que murió dende

á poco. Vino Rustano tras el ser Rey de Persia, contra quien hiço guerra Seiscander, disiendo *que* le pertenecia el reino, por Martha hija legitima de Vsan Casan, empero murió en batalla y assi la Martha, y tres hijos de los quales Ismael era mediano, fueron desterrados á vna Isla del lago que llaman Asumat. Fue Rustano muerto al cauo de seis años en su cama por Agmat amigo de su propria madre, pensando ambos de reynar; mas no reynaron, sino Alban, hijo según algunos de Jacob, y segun otros pariente de Ismael. Entonces, aunque de 15 años se llamó Rey de Persia. 150 Junto en Carabas D. hombres entre parientes y amigos de su padre, pasó determinadamente a Cur, el rio que corre al mar Caspio, que dizen ellos de Bacum, para entrar en Erducl, que fué de su padre; desbarató la gente que Surmangoli, amigo de Alban, embiaua para le atajar en camino. Tras aquel buen principio se le allegaron muchos, oyendo su gran esfuerço y linage. Venció luego a Surmangoli en batalla, cercó y tomó a Piroso, fuerte y rico pueblo, donde cobró fama de franco, y anssi tuuo de alli á poco quarenta mil hombres de guerra, y muchos cauallos, con los quales 160 ganó a Tauris huyendole Alban. Mató veinte mil personas á lo que cuentan en la Ciudad, porque fueron contra su padre Seiscader, y aun quemó los huesos de muchos que desenterrava, y dió la muerte a su madre y padastro, vn año antes que benciese a Moradcana. Fue pues Ismael estendiendo desde alli sus armas y nombre por Persia, Parthia, Media y otras provincias de Asia, en tal manera que hiço un señorío de los grandes de nuestro *tiempo*, y que a causado muchas muertes, robos y otros males en aquellas partes, pero ya es de suyo que vengan con mudança de reinos, y 170 nouedades de religion. Afirman que nació Ismael los puños cerrados y sangrientes, señal de crueldad, por lo qual su padre como astrologo, y su madre por asco le mandauan matar; en pero los criados le criaron, y como se criaua hermoso, y agudo vivió, llamaronle Sophi los del exercito lisonjeandole ó por costumbre antigua de Persia, cuyos reyes se llamauan magos por sauios, que tanto vale Sophi, ó por que renouó y sustuuo la seta de Seiscader su padre,

juntamente con Tequel, otro gran Doctor del Alcoran, que
180 perdicauan que no yrian al Paraíso de Mahoma, sino los
que guardasen su Ley, segun la doctrina, y declaracion de
Hali su discipulo. Traya el Sophi Ismael, y trayen lo todos
los sophianos vn bonete colorado con vna trença por debaxo
del braço, la qual lleua doze nudos ó borletes ó perlas por
otros tantos misterios que su ley contiene, y rapanse la barba,
dexando solamente vn mostacho; en lo al vsan el traje anti-
quissimo de Persia. Esto va vn poco de otra manera
que lo cuenta Paulo Jouio, diligente historiador de cosas
turquescas, mas assi lo halle en vn libro que de Con-
190 stantinopla truxo Hernando Ruy, con escrito de mano y
sacado de las historias de allá.

Lleua Pedro Aluares 13 nauios armados a la India, por
donde començó la contrataçion de portugueses en Calicut
y Cochín y Cananor de la especiaría.

Año de 1501

El Emperador Maximiliano inuiste á Carlos su nieto del
ducado de Milan.

Casa la Infanta Dona Catalina, con Artus Principe de
Gales; fueron a Ynglaterra con ella Don Alonso de Fonseca,
Arçobispo entonces de Santiago, Don Antonio de Rojas,
Obispo de Mallorca, Don Pedro Manrique Señor de Valdes-
caroz, el conde de Cabra y su madre, Elvira Manuel con
otra mucha cauallería.

Reparten el reyno de Napoles entre si los reyes Luis
10 y Fernando.

Alçanse los moros de Sierra Vermeja por no ser christianos,
y matan a Don Alonso de Aguilar que fue contra ellos con
exercito, mas despues se dieron al Rey con que les dexasse
ir a Berueria. La justicia que se hizo por el Rey Catholico
en los de Benefiz por que se auian alçado vn año antes.

Enuian los Reyes Catholicos a Pedro Martir su coronista
al Soldan de Alcairo, por que no haga moros los christianos
que moran en sus tierras.

El Archeduque Phelippe, y la princesa Doña Juana,
20 vienen de Flandes á España por Francia, donde hablaron

de casar con su hijo Carlos, á Claudia hija del Rey Luis XII.

El Castillo de Salsas se haze y fortifica que lo auian deriuado seis años antes los franceses; valesse el Rey Luis el X de los beneficios en Francia contra turcos.

Gana el Duque Valentin á Mola, y á otras tierras de la Romagna.

Hazen guerra turcos aunque sin ganancia, en Grecia y en Vngria.

Casa Ismael Sophi con Tasluca hija de Sanigin, y nieta ³⁰ de Jacob y diola çiento y cinquenta criadas.

Enuia el Rey de Portugal á Juan de Noua gallego con quatro nauios á India por especiarías.

Año de 1502

Juran en Toledo á la princesa Doña Juana, por heredera destos Reynos de Castilla en presencia de los Reyes Catholicos sus padres.

Cobran para si los Reyes Catholicos á Gibraltar. Mandan los mismos Reyes que salgan de Castilla todos los moros, y luego que se conuiertan, queriendo la reyna que sus vassallos sean christianos.

Capitulo general de la horden de Santiago en Seuilla, en que se mudan muchas reglas antiguas, por ser ya del Rey los maestrazgos. ¹⁰

Muere Artus Principe de Gales, çinco meses despues de casado, y de XXV años.

Naçe Don Juan, que fue Rey de Portugal.

Mata el Duque de Bragança Don Jaime á su muger, que puede ser escarmiento para las casadas que no se burlen con sus maridos.

Viene preso á España Don Fernando de Aragon, Duque de Calabria.

Vienesen tambien á Francia, el Rey Don Fadrique de Napoles, con sus hijos y muger. ²⁰

Mueuen guerra los franceses en Napoles á españoles sobre los términos, que les costa caro.

Entonçes passó aquel desafio campal tan nombrado en

Trana entre onze françeses y onze españoles á caualllo, sobre dezir los françeses que los españoles no eran hombres de acaualllo, sino de a pie, y que su Rey tenia mejor derecho á Napoles. Fueron los españoles Diego Garçia de Paredes, que rendió a su contrario, Diego de Vera, despues que fue muy conocido por lo de Argel y Fuente Rauia, el Alferez
30 Segura, y Moreno su hermano, Andres de Oliuera, G^o de Areualo y Jorge Dias portuguez, Qñate, Martin de Tuesta, mayordomo del Gran Capitan, Rodrigo Piñan, Gonçalo de Aler, que por su desventura fue rendido; de los franceses que yo sepa eran, Tersio, Mondrago, Artus, Oliuers, Cabanacio, Pedro de Terral, Bajardo, que despues armó cauallero al Rey Fran^{co}, quando venció los suizos: combatieron tambien que no declararon la vitoria por ninguna parte los jueces que fueron venecianos. Gonzalo de Aller, que sin falta era valiente, desafió luego al frances ren-
40 dido sobre que no tuuo causa como la tuuo el de rendirse.

Huuu luego tambien otro desafio de XIII franceses con 13 italianos, que afirmauan avieren vencido los españoles al campo, y assi vencieron los italianos, como tenian raçon.

Gana el Duque Valentin a Urbino á Pessaro, y otros pueblos con esguizaros y con françeses cuyo capitan era Grabiell Alegria.

Da guerra el Emperador Maximiliano á Phelippo Rheno en Bauiera.

Entra el Rey de Francia en Genoa.

50 Paz entre Bayast y veneçianos, que duró mas de 35 años.

Pazes tambien entre Vladislao, Rey de Vngria y el mismo Bayazet.

Ismael Sophi gana por armas á Bagador, que tambien se dice Balday y es Babilonia de Mesopotamia.

Toma el Rey de Portugal nuevos titulos de los reinos de Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia y India.

Año de 1503

Vuelve á Flandes el archiduque por Francia y concluye las pazes en Leon, entre Maximiliano, Luis y Fernando, donde prometió de casar a su hijo Carlos, con Claudia, hija

del rey Luis, que auia de heredar á Bretaña, no teniendo el 4 años ni ella 5.

Nació en Alcalá de Henares el Infante Don Fernando, que fue rey de Vngria y romanos.

Rompe á Euerardo de Abigniel el Conde Don Fernando de Andrada en la batalla de Groya.

La vitoria que huuo el gran capitan contra franceses en 10 la Chirnolla.

Otra vit^a que huuo de los mismos en el Garellano.

El cerco de Gaeta en que mataron á Don Hugo de Cardona, que fue muy buen capitan.

Cercan á Salsas los franceses estando dentro Don Sancho de Castilla.

El Rey Catholico que auia tenido Cortes en Çaragoça y Barçelona, socorre á Salsas, para el qual socorro enuió grandes compañías de castellanos desde Soria la reyna doña Isauel.

20

Va tras los franceses Don Fadrique de Toledo, Duque de Alua, Capitan General del exercito, en el qual auia treçe mil peones, dos mil hombres de armas, y quatro mil y quinientos ginetes.

Queda en Salsas por Cap^{an} general Don Bernaldo de Rojas, Marques de Denia, con 3M soldados 2M ginetes y mil hombres de armas.

Concierto de paz del Rey Don Fernando, con el Rey Luis, tras esto de Russillon, y lo de Napoles con que puedan los franceses cobrar su parte en aquel reyno por armas y spañoles 30 defendersela.

Muere Alexandro Papa de yeruas que por yerros del botiller le dió su hijo el Duque Valentin, Cesar de Borja. Era natural de Játua, docto, liberal y manifico, mas profano y assi puso grande fausto en la Iglesia; fué mujeril y tuuo muchos hijos, que honrraron como hiço Lucrecia, de la qual dico Pesquin que fué hija nueva, y amiga por el Duque Valentin, al qual procuró haçer Rey. Se metió en muchas guerras y gastos no sin infamia, hiço el cast^o de San Miguel Angel y el Caguiçami de santa Maria la Mayor, y un quarto 40 en palacio, y dexó el Ducado de Gandia.

Muere tambien el Papa Pio 3, dentro del mes que lo eligieron, por donde aquel año fue mas notable.

Comiença Papa Julio II á gouernar la Iglesia.

Vuelve á Flandes la princesa Doña Juana por mar, que nunca la pudo tener aca por causas que le hiço y dixo su *Magestad*.

Año de 1504

Juranse las pazes en la Mejorada, que hiço en Leon el Principe Archiduque por tres años.

Trembla la tierra en Seuilla, Carmona y otros lugares del Andalucia.

Muere la reyna Doña Isauel en Medina del Campo que puso grande tristeza en Castilla, aunque mandó que no puziesen luto por ella, conociendo el demasiado que hiciera traer por el principe Don Juan su hijo. Mandó tambien que gouernase el rey don Fernando su marido, hasta que Carlos
10 su nieto huuiese 20 años, si la princesa Doña Juana su hija no quisiese gouernar, ó no pudiese. Puso la inquisicion á instancia de fray Hernando de Talavera, por que uió ella misma judaizar en Seuilla ciertos de aquel linaje nueuamente conuertidos y hauer criados suyos; puso tambien la hermandad, por que hauia muchos salteadores no bastando contra ellos la justicia ordinaria; truxo la cruzada para contra infieles; aconsejolo al rey Catholico su marido, mas quando uió nueue cuentos juntos *que* se auian allegado della, pessole mui mucho, é reñió sobre ello; no consentia gastar blanca
20 de ella, sino para lo que fue concedida, ni aun tanpoco el Rey. Á los principios quiso gouernar sola, sobre lo qual passó recias cosas con el marido, que tambien era hombre altivo, y respondió al Cardenal Don Pedro Goncales de Mendoça (que los concertó) sino pidiera tanto, no me diera nada, y assi quedo igual con el Rey mi señor en la gouernacion de mis reinos. No era liberal, *que* assi quier ser las mujeres, mas empunia mucho al Principe don Juan, su hijo y su luz, que diesse liberalmente. Pesáuale *que* sus criados tomassen dadiuas de ninguno aunque fuessen embaxadores,
30 diciendo que parecia deshonrra della. Era muy señora y

assi solia decir que los Reyes de Castilla no tenian parientes. Fue muy casta y muy justiciera, y muy religiosa. Tuuo de moça muy grandes trauajos, desgracia con el rey Don Henrrique su hermano y competencia con la excellentissima Señora Doña Juana sobre la herençia, y pobreça con su marido antes de reynar. Topó con excelente marido, aunque muerta ella descubrió el algunas faltas y flaqueças. Todavía fueron ambos el mejor par de casados y de reyes de su tiempo. Mandó enterrarse en la Capilla de Granada que auia hecho, y dotado para enterramiento de los Reyes de 40 Castilla. Ordenó tambien la cofradia de la corte oseruancia.

Renunciaua en Toro el rey Don Fernando publicamente el nombre de Rey de Castilla, retiniendo el de g^{or} por virtud del testamento de la Reyna Catholica su muger, y declara por reyes con pregones á son de trompetas y á atabales á Doña Juana su hija, a Ph^e su yerno, lleuantando el pendón Real de Castilla Don Fadrique, Duque de Alua. Enuia preso á España por mandado del Rey Catholico el gran Capitan al Duque Valentin, y assi accauó el Duque de perder en Italia por armas, quanto con ellas ganara. 50

Comiença de auer enojo el Papa Julio con venecianos, Faenca, Arimini, y otros lugares que fueron del Duque Valentin.

Nueuo trato de paz entre Maximiliano Emperador y Luiz Rey de Francia.

Taçan en Castilla el trigo a 120 mrs. la anega que causó gran hambre y aun carestia, y assi dixeron á la Reyna que lo hiço tasar como solo Dios que le cria puede abaxar y subir el precio del pan. Danse los judios por esclauos en disputa de letrados, á causa de sus muchos y grandes pecados. 60

Año de 1505

Gana el Alcayde de los Donzeles á Mazalquivir.

Comiençan a tener diferencia sobre la gouernacion de Castilla el Rey Catolico y el Rey Don Phelippe p^o de tal nombre, aunque estaua en Flandes.

Vençe por guerra el Rey Don Phelippe al Duque de Gueldres, Carlos de Emont, que le tenia vsurpado aquel

estado, el qual Duque ayudaua al Rey de Francia con jntiligencias del Rey Catolico.

Nace la Infanta Doña Maria que fue Reyna de Vngria
10 y gouernadora de Flandes.

Hace guerra en Vngria el Emperador, Maximiliano. Muere Don Fadrique Rey de Napoles en Francia, el qual dexó perder vilmente aquel noble Reyno, que con tanto esfuerço, y trauajo, conquistó su abuelo el Rey Don Alonso de Aragon.

Concordia entre los Reyes Fernando y Phelippe aunque poco duró.

Dan guerra florentinos á pisanos.

Pide por muger el Rey Catholico á la excellente Señora
20 con Rodrigo Manrique, para con ella como Reyna estarse contra el Rey Don Phelippe en Castilla cosa suya, mas el Rey Don Manuel no se la quiso dar, ni aun ella viniera por que allen de ser vieja, era vna Santa ygal con el sobre nombre.

Muere Don Alonso de Foncequa, obispo de Osma, y sucédele Don Alonso Enrriques.

Año de 1506

Viniendo en Henero á España de Flandes los Reyes Don Phelippe y Doña Juana, tuuieron reza tormenta y fuego en la nao que venian cuyo piloto se llamaua Santiago; tocó tambien la nao en tierra ó como dicen en banco, donde sin falta se perdiera, si vna gruesa ola no la hechara de la otra parte con su rezio empellon. Mostró alli la Reyna animo varonil, el Rey diciendole que no escaparia de aquel peligro se vistió ricamente y se embutió de dineros para ser conocida y enterrada. Empero no perecieron.

10 Desenbarca el Rey Don Phelippe en Inglaterra que iua enfadado de la mar contra la voluntad de los suyos, y assi le pesó luego, porque huuo de dar al Duque de Safolc Omonpola el de la rossa sobre plejtisia que no le matasen, pero no la cumplió el Rey de Inglaterra, diziendo que sino lo diera, no le dexaran salir de la isla, por que segun Don

Juan M^{al} tenia cartas el Rey Enrrique del Rey Don Fernando que le detuuiesen.

Renueuan en Vindilisor el Rey Don Phelipe y el Rey Enrrique sus amistades, concertando que tornase á casar la Infanta Doña Cathalina con Enrrique su cuñado. 20

Desbarcan los Reyes en la Coruña, con grande alegría de gente.

Veense los Reyes Phelippe y Fernando en Remesal, sobre concierto, empero no se concertaron, ni aun vió el Rey Don Fernando á la Reyna su hija, estoruandolo Don Juan Manuel, que priuaua con el Rey don Phelippe.

Muere dende á poco el Rey Don Phelippe en Burgos que fue grande lastima para todos, en edad de 29 años, y sin goçar de tantos reynos y riquezas. Murió quexandose de quien le auia metido en aquellos trauajos con su suegro y ³⁰ de no tener que dar a los suyos. Mandó llevar su coraçon á Bruselas, y el cuerpo a Granada y que las entrañas quedassen allí. Era gentil hombre, aunque un poco gordo, y de buen ánimo, y buen ingenio, liberal que nada sauia negar, y assi respondió á uno *que* le demandaua cierto regimiento, diziendo que no le auia dado porque no se lo auia pedido, si me lo pedieron yo lo di. Dexó de la Reyna los hijos siguientes, á Carlos de quien son estos años, que fué Rey de España y Emperador, á Fernando Rey que foy de Vngria y Emperador, á Leonor que fué Reyna de Portu- ⁴⁰ gal y de Francia, á Isauel que por su desastre casó con Christierno Rey de Dinamarca y Norvega, á Maria que reynó en Vngria y á Catalina Reyna de Portugal que nació tras su muerte.

Casamiento del Rey Catholico Don Fernando en Dueñas, con Germana de Fox, sobrina del Rey Luis de Francia y suya, haziendo treguas con françeses por ciento y vn años con algunas condiciones menos que buenas. Fueron por ella y á los conciertos Don Juan Silua Conde de Cifuentes, y el ⁵⁰ dotor Thomas Malferit Vicecanciller de Aragon.

Pasa el Rey Don Fernando á Napoles, desauenido del Rey Don Phelippe y aún descontento por salir de Castilla, tan dulce cosa es reynar, y tanta su riqueza y poder.

Con la muerte del vn rey y con la ausencia del otro huuo muchas nouedades en estos reynos de Castilla, no queriendo nadie obedecer a la justicia, ni mandar tan poco la Reyna. Conbate á Gibraltar el Duque de Medina Sidonia, armandose contra el Duque, el Conde de Lemos, el Duque de Alua, y el Conde de Benauente. Naçen bandos en quasi las mas
60 ciudades, llamando unos Carlos, y otros Fernando, y otros Maximiliano, y muy pocos Juana, como no se queria poner a gouernar, por lo qual tomaron la gouernacion el cardenal fray Francisco Ximenes, el condestable Don B^{no} de Velasco, y Don Pedro Manrique de Lara, Duque de Najara, á consejo, y voluntad de los mas señores.

Toma Gonçalo Marino de Riuera alcaide de Melilla á Caçaça. El Duque Valentin se suelta de la Mota de Medina del Campo no sin peligro y se va derecho al Conde de Benauente, Don Rodrigo Pimentel, y del á Navarra.

70 El alboroto de Lisboa por persuasion de frayles en el qual murieron mas de tres mil christianos nuevos, y sobre ello castigó muchos de los revoltosos el rey Don Manuel, que mandó los frayles y otros sesenta hombres.

Desposorio de Francisco de Angoulesma, Delfin, con Claudia hija del Rey Luis de Francia, y Duquesa de Bretaña, la que estaua prometida á Carlos, principe de Castilla, y viene á Valladolid embaxadores franceses, á desculpase.

Lança de Boloña por fuerça el Papa Julio á Juan de
80 Bentiuoglia tirano que le causó enojo de algunos cardenales.

Guerra de algunos ginoueses sobre Monaco. Muere Christoval Colon que descubrió las Indias, por donde terna perpetua fama.

Año de 1507

En Saona se hablan los Reyes Luis y Fernando, que tan reñidos auian estado sobre Napoles, y estando comiendo con la Reyna Doña Germana, hiço sentar a la mesa el Rey de Francia al gran Capitan, que le fue mucha honrra.

Buelve á gouernar á Castilla el Rey Catholico el qual sin mucho ruydo assentó las alteraciones que auia en ella.

Júntanse la Reyna Doña Juana y el Rey Don Fernando en Tortoles.

Y en V^a años la Reyna Doña Juana y la Reyna Germana que aunque madastra le tomó la mano para se la besar. 10

Nace la Infanta Doña Catalina, en Torquemada.

Pestilencia muy general en España, sobre auer hauido hambre.

Muere fray Hernando de Talauera de la orden de San Geronimo, primer Arçobispo de Granada, que fue tenido por santo.

Renuncia Don Alonso de Fonçequa por consentimiento del Rey Catolico, el arçobispado de Santiago en Don Alonso su hijo, que fue cosa nueva.

El Rey de Tenes pide socorro al Rey Don Fernando, 20 contra el Termecen que lo despojara de su estado.

Concierto que casen al Principe Don Carlos y la princesa Maria de Gales, su hija del Rey de Inglaterra, Enrrique 8^o, siendo él de ocho años y ella de diez.

La guerra que hace Carlos Duque de Gueldras, en Brabante con favor del Rey de Francia.

Mueue guerra el Emperador Maximiliano á venecianos por que se auian alçado contra él, con el Rey de Francia, para los escluyr de Italia.

Ha el Rey Luis, aunque por maña, la inuestidura de Milan, 30 que causó muchas guerras y males.

Tenta de cobrar por armas á Boloña Juan de Bentiuglia, mas no pudo, y assi huuo de uiuir en Buseto como desterrado con XXI hijos.

Rebuelta y guerras en Genoua, por las quales entró el Rey de Francia con mano armada en la ciudad, y hiço la Lanterna castillo fortissimo.

Huuó grandes guerras entre turcos, y sophianos, venciendo estos dos veçes, y aquellos vna.

Da mucha guerra Ismael Sophi al Rey Aladola, en Capadocia, y tomale al Bustan, Amazar, y otras ciudades. 40

Guerra del Rey Don Juan de Nauarra, que le sucedió mal, con Don Luis de Beamonte, en la qual murió el Duque Valentin Cesar de Boria.

Era Cesar de Boria hijo del Papa Alexandro, y de Canocia Romana, era bien dispuesto, sino que tenia tantos barros en la cara, y tan malos ojos, que huia de andar de dia, y mostraua bien con el rostro su cruel corazon; fué muy rico cardenal, y entre otros beneficios tuuo el arçobispado de 50 Pamplona, y despues el Arçobispado de Valencia. Antojosele de mudar abito, pareciendole mejor la espada que no el breuiario, y renunció el capelo y los beneficios por mas que le contradixeron y afearon los Reyes Catholicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isauel, para los renunçiar; y que pareciese licito y onesto, prouó ser borde, auiendo prouado lo contrario su padre quando lo hiço cardenal; y procuró fauor del Rey de Francia Luis XII por vna licencia y dispensacion, que le dió su padre para casar con Ana, Duquesa de Bretaña, dexando á la Reyna Juana su primera muger, por 60 que no paria. Y assi casó alla en Francia con Carlota de Fox, hija de Alan de la Brit, gran Señor y noble, con la qual tuuo a Valence, de donde se llamó Duque Valentin ó Valentinoys segun lengua francesa. Querria tambien ser Duque de Gandia, que para esso, a lo que se dixo, hechara en Tiber al Duque su hermano. Hizole su padre Capitan general de la Iglesia en lugar del Duque ahogado, pretendiendo que fuese señor de la Romaña, Spoleto, Marca de Ancona, y otros estados, si hechase dende los señores que llamaua tiranos del patrimonio de S. Pedro. El pues los hecho todos 70 por fuerça y miedo en dos ó tres años, con tan gloria y nombre que todos como dizen le temian, y Bayazet gran turco quiso por aquello tratar con el para ir contra venecianos. Prosiguió los vrsinos y los coloñeses, matando cruel y publicamente algunos caualleros de aquellos linajes, y aun cardenales. Atormentaua clérigos, segun era fama, por auer dineros para la guerra. Dió yeruas en fin a su padre aunque por yerro del botiller, queriendo matar ciertos cardenales que conuidava, con los quales muriera tambien él que fuera su merecido, sino se metiera en vna mula, que 80 abrieron uiua, dexando la cabeça afuera. Empero luego con su enfermedad, y con la muerte del papa su padre, perdió quanto tenia, y el gran Capitan aunque con seguro lo

prendió en Nápoles, que començaua de allegar gente, y lo enuió á España. Huyó a Nauarra de la Mota de Medina descolgandose por sogas, y estando allá le derriaron Ximen Garces de los Fayos, sino era de Agreda, y otro hermano suyo por meterse mucho en los del conde de Lerin, que fueren a socorrer de comida el Castillo de Viana. Dizianme amívnos de Logroño, que se hallaron en aquello, como le acauó de matar Damiancillo atambor, estando caydo, y gimiendo. 90

Desta manera murió el valiente Duque Valentin, cuyos vicios ygualauan y cubrian sus letras, su liberalidad, su ánimo y delegencia. Trataua marauillosamente toda suerte de armas á pie y á cauallo; tenia gran ligereza en saltar, correr, luchar, terçar y tornear.

Treguas por tres años entre venecianos y el Emperador Maximiliano.

Año de 1508

Toma el Conde Pedro Navarro el Peñon de Veles de la Gomera, donde se hizo despues vna fortaleza. Prende Don Pedro F^{rz} de Cordoua, Marques de Priego, á Fernan Gomez de Herrera el de Madrid, alcalde de corte, y lleuale á Montilla desde Cordoa.

Castiga el Rey Catholico el Marques de Priego, porque prendió su alcalde, derriuando la fortaleza de Montilla.

Y á Don Pedro de Giron, porque se lleuó á Portugal al Duque de Medina Sidonia, cuyo tutor era.

Hecha preso el Cardenal fray Fran^{co} Ximenes á Luzero 10 Inquisidor riguroso.

Cerca el Rey de Fez á Arcilla con cien mil moros estando dentro el Conde Don Vasco de Borba, sobre lo qual huuo gran asonada de guerra en Portugal para el socorro, y aun en Castilla juntando gente Don Antonio de Fonseca, pero antes que llegasen la desercó Pedro Navarro.

Haze Alonzo de Hojeda vn lugar en Caribana, que nombró San Seuastian, y que fue la primera poblacion despañoles en tierra firme de Indias.

Comiença Diego de Nicuesa, que luego murió desastrada- 20 mente, á poblar el Nombre de Dios.

Descomulga el Papa Julio á los venecianos por vsurpadores de Rauenna, y otras tierras de la Iglesia.

Da el Papa tº de Coronado Emperador á Maximiliano.

Liga contra venecianos hecha en Cambray del Papa Julio, del Emperador Maximiliano, del Rey Don Fernando, del Rey Luis de Francia y otros Señores y estados, porque tenían tierras de todos.

Guerra entre Maximiliano y venecianos, sobre la Doradusa
30 y Goricia.

Viene a dar en tierra cerca de Diepa vna barquilla de minbres con ocho hombres, que comian carne cruda, y beuián sangre como agua, y que no se pudieron entender.

Guerra de Florentines, contra Pisanos, por sujetarlos.

Va Insiluas á Corasan con docientos mil hombres y sale á él Ismael Sophi, con casi otros tantos, mas no rompieron á intersision de vn obispo armenio.

Año de 1509

Pregon de la liga de Cambray en la Iglesia mayor de Valladolid, diziendo misa el obispo de Palencia. Juraronla el Rey por si, y por la Reyna su hija, y por el Papa su nunçio Juan Rufo, obispo de Bitanor, por el Principe don Carlos, Mercurino de Gatinaria, por el Rey de Francia, el señor de Guisa, y los embaxadores del Emperador Maximiliano.

La toma de Oran, por el Cardenal fray Fran^{co} Ximenes.

Entra la Reyna Doña Juana en Tordesillas, para nunca salir.

10 Conformanse Maximiliano Emperador y el Rey Don Fernando, para las cosas de Carlos, su nieto.

Pare la Reyna Germana en Valladolid un hijo que no uiuió mas de vna hora, cuya muerte fue de tanta tristesa para los Reynos de Aragon *quanto* su nacimiento de gloria.

Muere Enrique Rey de Inglaterra, el septimo, que deseando casar con la Reyna Doña Juana de Castilla detuuó mucho tiempo el casamiento de su hijo, y de la infanta Doña Catalina, y aun daua mala vida a su nuera, por forçar al abuelo á lo que pretendia.

Casa en fin la Iff^a Doña Cathalina con Enrrique octavo, 20
Rey de Inglaterra su cuñado, teniendo dispensacion para
ello aunque fuere auida; pero dicen que Artus era impotente.

Tratase la causa de la beata de Pedra Hita, que fue notable.
Comiença la vniuersidad de Alcalá de Henares.

Vitoria del Rey Luis de Francia en Anaydes, por los
aliados contra venecianos, que ayna los descarriara. Tenia
el Rey quince mil de acauallo y treynta mil de pie, y ellos
treinta y tres mil peones y dez mil de acauallo. Murieron
en la batalla diez mil á lo que los franceses cuentan.

Toma por guerra el Papa Julio á Modena y á la Miran- 30
dola, que tenia el Duque A^o de Ferrara.

Cerca el Emperador Maximiliano á Padua, mas no la
pudo tomar.

Restituyen venecianos al Papa Julio á Rauena. Comiença
Juan Ponce de Leon á conquistar el Boriquen. Guerra de
venecianos contra el Duque de Ferrara.

La sangrienta batalla entre polacos y turcos, venciendo
los christianos.

Prendió en guerra el Sophi á Surmangol, Rey de Su-
maquia. 40

Año de 1510

La toma de Bugia y de Tripol de Berberia. Renuevan
la liga de Cambray contra venecianos los mismos y mas
Vladislao Rey de Vngria.

Ayuda el Papa Julio á los venecianos que se le humillaron,
saliendose de la liga que fue ocasión de muchas guerras y
daños.

Haçe guerra el Papa contra franceses en Genoua y en
Milan, por que fuese la vna libre y la otra de su dueño, pero
dexanle los suyzos que tambien se diçen esguizaros por
dineros del Rey Luis. 10

Mata en Rauena el Duque de Urbino Fran^{co} M^a de la
Robere sobrino del Papa Julio al Cardenal Alidorio por lo
de Boloña, por cuya muerte tomó enojo el Papa, aunque era
el cardenal de suzia vida.

Nace rancor entre Julio Papa II y el Rey Luis de Francia,

que fue principio de infinitos males, ayudando á venecianos el Papa y el Rey al Duque de Ferrara, en sus guerras,

El Papa enojado del Rey de Francia, por lo de Ferrara y de Boloña, pide fauor á los Principes Cristianos, y dansele²⁰ y en special el Rey Catholico.

Catiuan cossarios á XXV frayles carmitas voluiendo á Scicilia del Capº general que auian tenido en Roma.

Año de 1511

La conquista de Cuba, por Diego Velasquez de Cuellar.

Confederacion del Rey Catholico Don Fernando y de venecianos con el Papa Julio, haziendo exercito de comun contra el Rey de Francia.

Anda el Consilio que contra el Papa Julio començaron ciertos cardenales, cuya cabeça era el cardenal Don Bernardino de Carauajal, obispo de Sigüença, á quien llamauan burlando el Papa Andrea. La causa de aquel consilio, por dar alguna raçon fue, que proponiendo el Papa en¹⁰ Consistorio de quitar á Boloña á Juan de Bentiuogli por guerra, no consintió principalmente como mas antigo el cardenal Don Bernardino de Carauajal, y siguieron su consejo y parecer los cardenales Francisco Soderino, Fadrique de San Seuerino, Antonio Gentil, Guillem Brisonet y quantos estauan mal con el Papa ó codiciauan el Papazgo; los quales se asentaron á consilio en Pisa con voluntad de Pedro Soderino, que gouernaua entonces á Florencia, y con fauor del Rey de Francia, que les enuió con gente a Lotrech. Atraxo á su gracia el Papa a los tres cardenales de aquellos²⁰ ó por offrecimiento ó por descomuniones; los otros tres se pasaron á Milan, donde pregonaron concilio, diciendo que lo fauorecerian, y aprouauan el Emperador y el Rey de España, por lo qual se ayró el Rey Catholico, y suplicaua al Papa que los priuase de officios y beneficios, y assi lo hizo, y entonces nombra el Rey á Don Fadrique de Portugal por obispo de Sigüença. Temieron aquellos tres cardenales, y acogieronse á Francia, porfiando todavia de continuar su consilio en Leon.

Ruega el Papa, requiere y amonesta vna y muchas vezes

al Rey Luis de Francia, que no fauoresca al maluado consilio 30
que haçian aquellos cardenales rebeldes y descomulgados,
ni ayude al Duque de Ferrara ni á Juan de Bentiuogli á otros
tiranos de la Iglesia.

Descomulga el Papa y da por scismatico al Rey de Francia,
y a todos los que fauorecian su partido y el de los cardenales
schismaticos, priuandolos de sus reynos y estados y digni-
dades.

Traxo á Valladolid esta excomunion, y sent^a el dotor
Guillen Caça, la qual se leyó en la Iglesia Mayor publica-
mente acauado el euangelio de la misa, vn dia de fiesta. 40

Publica guerra del Rey Catholico Don Fernando contra
los scismaticos. Pide ayuda á su yerno Enrrique octauo, el
Rey de Inglaterra, hace paçes con los Reyes de Tunes y
Tremeçen, enuia al Alcaide de los Donzeles á Fuente Rabia
para las cosas de Nauarra, y manda que Don Ramon de
Cardona, Virrey de Napoles, y el Conde P^o Nauarro, con la
gente de su armada, se junten con Fran^{co} M^a Duque de
Vrbino, que con exercito del Papa estaua sobre Boloña.

Consulta el Rey de Francia en Tours con sus letrados,
theologos y canonistas, que no era obligado á obedecer a la 50
excomunion del Papa hecha con armas; que no puede haçer
guerra el Papa lícitamente á otro Señor en tierras no de la
Iglesia, ó que no á ofendido la fée ni la Iglesia, ni le a mouido
guerra; que puede haçer guerra el Rey en su defension al
Papa, su enemigo publico y notorio en particular, empero
guardando todas las Iglesias y pueblos de su Reyno el
derecho comun, y la pragmática sançion del concilio de
Basilea; y que podia defender sus amigos aliados de otro,
aunque fuese Papa.

Manda el Rey de Francia que no lleuen dineros á Roma 60
sus vassallos, porque no le haga guerra con ellos el Papa.

Entra Don Gaston de Fox, Cap^{an} general del Rey de
Francia, en Boloña por fuerça de su exercito; gana tambien
á Bresa, Bergamo, y otros pueblos del Papa y venecianos.

Molesta el Duque Carlos de Gueldres á Brabante, con
spaldas del Rey de Francia.

Ponese con el Papa el Emperador Maximiliano, por-

que ayudaua el Rey de Francia al Duque de Geldres contra él.

70 Presentan al Emperador Maximiliano vn hombre que se comia de vna vez vn carnero, ó vna ternera.

Vence y prende Tomas Hauad en batalla de Mar a Andres Borton, Capitan de la flota Scocesa.

Comiençan los barbarrojas á tener fama.

Dissenciones y guerras entre Bayazet gran Turco, y sus hijos.

La batalla de Churlu que dió Selim á su padre Bayazet,

Pelean Insilbas y el Sophi con cada duzentos mil hombres á lo qual cuentan, en vna Isla del rio Efia, cerça de Carsar, 80 ciudad grande, auiendo primero aplaçado la batalla, la qual fue crudelissima y la mas sangrienta de *nuestros* años.

Venció el Sophi por su buen sfuerzo. Enuió la caueça de Insiluas al gran Turco y la de Azebec Cap^{an} excelente al Soldan del Cairo, que fue inhumanidad. Empero dexó el reyno á sus hijos con algun tributo, por que truxessen bonetes colorados, desechando los verdes que acostumbrauan.

Nace Fran^{co} Lopez en Gómara domingo de mañana, que fué dia de la Purificacion de *nuestra* Señora que llaman Candelaria, el qual hiço estos años, y las guerras de mar de 90 *nuestros* tiempos, y la historia de las indias con la conquista de México, y piensa otras obrillas, y pues lo ha trabajado es razon que lo goçe en compaña de tantos buenos varones.

Año de 1512

El monstro que parió en Rauena vna monja, el qual dicen era macho y hembra, tenia vn cuerno en la caueça y vna cruz en el pecho, y alas por braços y vn solo pie, vn ojo en la rodilla.

La batalla campal de Raueña, que vencieron franceses por no pelear españoles. Los *nuestros* vencidos fueron, mas aunque fueron mataron los enemigos; murieron en todos diez y seis mil hombres, las dos partes del exercito frances, y quarenta capitanes de ambas partes, y mas Don Gaston de 10 Fox, hermano de la Reyna Germana, que hiço esclarecida la jornada, el qual tenia (si en cuenta de soldados ay verdad)

setenta piezas gruesas de artilleria, dos mil hombres de armas, quatro mil cauallos ligeros, y veinte cinco mil peones. Auia en el exercito del Papa con el Duque de Urbino veinte y quatro tiros de bronce, y veinte y tres mil ^{iff^{tes}}, los XII mil españoles, y mil ginetes, mil cauallos ligeros, ocho cientos hombres de armas españoles, y q^{tos} hombres de armas italianos.

Vienen á Burgos con el Alcayde de los Donzelles embaxadores de Abdala, Rey de Tremezen, que se dava por ²⁰ tributario del Rey de Castilla, los quales truxeron al Rey Don Fernando los dineros del tributo, 22 cauallos, vn leoncillo manso, vna galina de oro baziado con 36 pollitos de lo mismo, y muchas cosas moriscas, y vna donzellica hermosa de sangre real y 130 christianos cautiuios.

Rompe Don Duarte de Menezes, alcayde de Tanjer, con 170 de acuallo y 300 peones al Rey de Fez, que le vino á quemar los panes, con 3000 moros a pie, y 700 ginetes; en el encuentro y en el alcance prendió 225 y mató dos tantos.

Concierto del Rey Don Juan de Nauarra, por medio de ³⁰ Francia, que le adjudicó a Bearne por que descompadrase con el Rey Don Fernando para que no entrase por su reyno de Guiana, donde los ingleses encarauan.

Toma el Duque de Alua Don Fadrique de Toledo, Capitan general, el Reyno de Nauarra, entrando en Panplona con seis mil soldados, mil hombres de armas y mil y q^{tos} ginetes.

Cerca el Rey Don Juan á Panplona XXVI dias, estando el Duque de Alua, Hernando de Vega, Antonio de Foncequa y otros muchos caualleros castellanos, que se huuieron rezio.

Va el Rey á Logroño, y enuía desde alli socorro á Pan- ⁴⁰ plona con el Duque de Nájera, por cuyo temor lleuantó el cerco el Rey don Juan, dexando el artelleria francesa. Oy dizir que lloraua el Rey de plazer con An^{to} de Foncequa que le truxo la nueua, tanto estimó ganar á Nauarra.

Cercan á San Sebastian el Delphin Fr^{co} y el Duque de Borbón Monpensier, pero hecharonlos con mal los de la tierra,

Queda por Virrey de Nauarra Don Di^o Hernandez de Cordoua Marques de Comares, que llamauan Alcayde de

50 los Donzeles, y luego Don An^{to} Manrrique, Duque de Nájera, y despues Don Francisco de Zúñiga, conde de Miranda, y Don Martin de Cordoua, Conde de Alcaodete, y Don Martin de Mendoça, Marques de Cañete, y Don Luis Hurtado, Marques de Mondejar, y Juan de Vega, Marques de Gragal, y Don Pedro de Mendoça, Conde de Castro Xeres, y Don . . . de Cárdenas, Duque de Maqueda, y Don Beltran de la Cueva, Duque de Alburquerque.

Tienta en Logroño de huyrse á Francia el Duque de Calabria Don Fernando de Aragon, por lo qual ua preso 60 á Xátiva que hasta alli andaua libremente en corte y tienelo en guarda mosen Juan.

Comiença el consilio de S. Juan de Letran en Roma.

Muere Fray Pascoal, Obispo de Burgos, hombre verdaderamente christiano estando en el consilio, y está sepultado en la moreria de Roma.

Rebelión contra el Sophi de los hijos de Insiluas deshechando los bonetes colorados á consejo de vn sucio tartaro de los bonetes blancos.

Muere Bayazet el II de ponçoña, que por mandado de 70 Selim Sahac su hijo menor, le dió Hamon Vztarabo médico judio, auiendo reynado 31 años y uiuido 74. Passó grande trauaxo con sus hermanos por reynar y mayor con sus hijos que tuuo siete, y cada vno queria el reyno, gastaua con ellos por año mas de vn millar, ca los tenia en prouincias, aunque lleuaua la mitad el mayor. Fuera sino por ellos bien afortunado, venciendo siempre, saluo vna vez, que fué vencido de los mamalucos. Fue sin esto riquísimo, ca tenia die millones en dineros, poco antes que renunciase sus reynos, que ningun Rey destos años los ha tenido, aunque no halló 80 Selim mas que vno quando los buscó, y dixo que metian mucho las manos los criados. Era Bayazet muy dado á Philosophia y á su alcoran, por lo qual, y por ser tan viejo, hizo dexacion del Imperio en Selim con enojo de los otros hijos, que fue acortar su vida. Selim, comenzado á reynar, haçe prematica sobre los vestidos de soldados, diciendo que por ser tan ricos peleauan mucho sus contrarios.

Año de 1513

Treguas de secreto entre los reyes Luis y Fernando, que las sintieron mucho el Rey de Inglaterra y el de Nauarra. Conciértanse de nuevo el Papa y el Emperador Maximiliano contra el Rey Luis de Francia. Confórmanse por diligencia de Mercurin de Gatinaria Maximiliano y Fernando, sobre la gouernacion y cosas de Carlos su nieto.

Lábranse las fortalezas de Oran y del Peñon de Argel. Descubre la mar del Sur, cosa muy deseada en Castilla, Vasco Nuñes de Balboa, auiendo primero tenido muchas guerras con los Indios, este año y los pasados. 10

Gana de los moros el Duque Don Jaime de Bragança, con armada del Rey Don Manuel, á Azamor. Rehaze su exercito el Papa tras la batalla que perdió en Rauena, con el qual hechó de Italia los franceses.

Mete por fuerça el Papa en Florencia los Medices en vengança que abian fauorecido los de aquella Ciudad el Concilio de Pisa, aun sargentó su exercito aparte.

Muere auiendo tenido la silla Pontifical 10 años el Papa Julio II, natural de Saona, del qual dizen que fue mal Papa, y buen hombre. Era grande amigo del Rey Fernando, por 20 que siempre le fauorecia, y assi le dió las inuistiduras de los Reynos de Napoles y Nauarra. Murió alegre por auer hechado los franceses de Italia, y por auer recobrado Bolonia y por auer metido los Medices en Florencia.

Elecion del Papa Leon X, que no tenia 40 años. Amistad que nombrauan perpetua entre Francia y Venecia, contra el Duque de Milan.

Ayuda el Papa Leon al Duque de Milan, Maximiliano Sforza.

La batalla de Nouarra que venció Maximiliano Sforza, 30 contra franceses, cuyo general era Luis de la Tremouille.

Reciue mucho daño el exercito veneciano que guiaua B^{me} de Aluiano, sobre Cremona y sobre Verona. Libra Otauiano Fregoso á Genoa de poder de franceses, con color del Papa y con spañoles, que lleuó el Marques de Pescara.

Aliança del Emperador Maximiliano y del Rey Don

Fernando y del Rey Enrrique de Inglaterra, contra el Rey Luis de Francia.

El Rey de Inglaterra con ayuda por sus dineros del
40 Emperador Maximiliano, haçe guerra en Picardia contra el Rey de Francia.

Batalla entre ingleses y escoçeses por amor del Rey de Francia en flod, que vençió Thome Hauard, Conde de Surri, en la qual murió el Rey Jaques IV con muchos nobles de su reyno, y fue conocido entre los muertos por vna cinta de hierro que traya junto á las carnes, en penitencia que mató a su padre por reynar.

La batalla que llamaron de las Espuelas, por espolear mucho los franceses por mas huyr, en Teruana y que
50 vencieron ingleses, en la qual fueron presos el Duque Fr^{co} de Longauilla, Capitan general, y el famoso Capitan Bayardo.

Bombardean Próspero Colona y Don Ramon de Cardona á Venecia, desde Margara, que fue mayor la afrenta que no el daño, aunque huuo gran miedo en la ciudad.

Gana el Rey de Inglaterra Enrrique octauo á Teruana por cerco, y Tornay por conzierto, stando con él Maximiliano Emp^{or}.

Batallan las flotas inglesa y francesa vna vez, quando perdió el ojo Presan de Guyana, que auia pasado alla por el
60 estrecho de Gribaltar con sus galeras, y otra cerca de Brest, que por el fuego fue de gran daño y peligro.

La nombrada batalla de Vicencia junto á Olmo, que huuieron Don Ramon de Cardona y el señor Prospero Colona con B^{me} de Aluiano, Capitan general de venecianos, que le tenia mucha ventaja en numero de gente y en sitio de Lugar.

Tenian ellos tres mil y quin^{tos} alemanes y hasta quatro mil españoles, que mandaua el Marques de Pescara, y mil hombres de armas, los 700 españoles, 600 ginetes que regia
70 Don Pedro de Castro, Capitan famoso, y vn esquadron de cauallos ligeros con el Cap^{an} Susar y XIX tiros; vencieron los *nuestros* por el esfuerço y sauer. Mataron cinco mil, como dicen algunos, y 25 Cap^{nes}. Tomaron 24 tiros y todas las banderas. Túuose á mucho la *vitoria* por ser menos y morir

pocos y por auer braueado B^{me} de Aluiano, diziendo que los tenia como á cuernos en paradas.

Apodérase de Milan y de todo el estado del Duque Maximiliano teniendo por Capitan á Prospero Colona. Combaten sguizaros a Dauion en Borgoña, fauoreciendo al Papa y al Emperador, mas apartandose del zerco por los 80 prometer el Rey de Francia, con firma y juramento, muchas cosas; y en ellas 4 M scudos de oro, y que tornaria a la obediencia del Papa, y que restituyria luego á Borgoña al Principe don Carlos, y que sacaria toda su gente de Italia, y que nunca mas iria á Lombardia, mas empero no lo cumplió. Restituye Leon Papa X en los capelos y obispados á los cardenales Carauajal, y San Seuerino con voluntad del Rey Don Fernando, por que se arepentieron.

Mortandad en Constantinopla, que lleuó segun dicen ciento y cinq^{ta} mil personas. 90

Ahoga Selim gran Turco á su hermano Amag, despues de auerle vencido en batalla caue Barsia.

Toma por armas Basillo Rey de Moscouia á Esmolenio. Guerra de turcos en Natalia con Tequel nueuo declarador del Alcoran.

El cardenal Pedro Bembo concluye su historia.

Año de 1514

Anda todavia la guerra en Italia contra franceses. Junta exercito el Rey de Francia contra el de Inglaterra, mas no guerreó.

Asuelan ginoueses su lanterna Castillo inexpunable, en odio de los franceses.

Pazes entre los Reyes de Inglaterra y de Francia, tratadas por el Duque de Longauilla, siendo preso.

Casa el Rey Luis de Francia, siendo de 55 años, con Blanca Maria hermana del Rey Enrique IIX de Inglaterra, que fué prometida á Don Carlos, principe de Castilla, por auer 10 paz y á Teruaua y Tornay.

Procura Thomas cardenal Destrignon la cruzada contra turcos en Vngria y Boemia, á lo qual se juntaron muy

muchos mas hombres que quisieron el cardenal y el Rey Vlasdislao, y por eso mandaron que no tomasen cruces todos.

Alçase con muchos cruzados Jorge Seguel, robando y matando los que le contradicen, specialmente á caualleros, con lo qual puso en armas al Rey y reyno.

Vençe Juan Bornemisa Capitan del Rey á Lucacho, her-
20 mano de Jorge Seguel cabe Buda.

Prende tambien peleando Juan Vajuoda al Jorge Seguel, que ya se llamaua Rey, y á su hermano Lucacho.

La cruel muerte aunque justa en Transdutrifa del falço Rey Jorge Seguel de Vngria, *que* le coronaron con yerro ardiendo, punçaronle muchas venas y dieron á beuer la sangre a Lucacho primero, y luego á 20 Cap^{tes}, que no solo lo chuparon, mas tambien mordian la carne como estauan de tres dias hanbrientos, á lo qual estuuó tan sufrido que ni aun suspiro, en ca lo asaron, y cozieron, y lo hicieron comer
30 á sus soldados.

La Batalla cerca del rio Boristenes, en la qual Costantino Capitan del Rey Sigismundo de Polonia venció al Rey Basilio, matando ocho mil moscouitas de quarenta mil que pelearon á cauallo. Tenia el Costantino quarenta mil hombres de armas y pocos mas de tres mil peones, los mas arcabuzeros, que hicieron la matança y vitoria.

Cerca en vano el mismo Costantino, á Esmoleco. Va Selim contra el Sophi, auiendo renouado amistades con vngaros, polacos y venecianos, llamado por los Cardines,
40 señores persianos contr^{os} en seta de Seiscader.

Batalla famosissima en el campo Caldean del Sophi, con solos XXX mil de acauallo, á Selim que lleuaua 200M soldados y los ochenta mil con caualllos, mas perdiola, que fué segun dizen el primer reues de fortuna que tuuo, por causa del artilleria turca, que con su gran ruydo espantó los caualllos persianos.

Mata Selim á Cobarquel Sampri, Capitan del Sophi excelente, porque diciendo quien era para pelear contra el que traya consigo á Dios, respondió si Dios estuuiera
50 contigo, no vinieras á vsorpar las tierras ajenas.

Entra Selim en Tauris, mas luego se sale de miedo y

ambre, sacando 300 doncellas nobles y hermosas con grandes riquezas. Allí se comenzó asentar en silla contra la costumbre otomana, diciendo que auia pasado 120 leguas de donde llegó su aguelo Mahomet.

Y á la verdad el anduvo mucho y peleó bien y aun tornara muy glorioso á Costantinopla, sino perdiera cien mil hombres en aquella jornada.

Tras esta mala pelea se alió el Sophi desde Tasnula, donde se retira, con el Soldan Campson y con Aladola, y con otro 60 Rey negro que se recelaua de turcos.

Año de 1515

Muere Luis XII Rey de Francia, sin hijos varones, aunque casava con tres mugeres. Dexó la primera que no paria, por auer á Bretaña con la 2ª, y aquella esposada con Maximiliano. Era muy escaso, de poca religion y dexaua la honrra por el prouecho, guerrero cruel, vengatiuo. Ganó á Milan, á Genoa, y á Napoles, venció á los venecianos por los de la liga, y por si solo al Papa con sus aliados, mas por su poca christiandad lo perdió todo y fué* descomulgado, y tuuo guerras en su propio reyno de ingleses y suizos, con los quales hiço feos consiertos y feamente los negó. Libraron 10 mal quantos tuuieron su amistad, ca fue ocasión que perdiese Nauarra el Rey Don Juan, y que perdiese Jaques Rey de Scotia, y que Florencia començase á perder la libertad. De ninguno tuuo inbidia sino del Rey Catholico que ni lo pudo vençer en armas, ni echarle dadno falso en los negocios.

Comiença de gouernar á Flandes el Principe Don Carlos. Exército de franceses en Nauarra, pero luego fue lançado con otro de castellanos.

Nauarra queda incorporada en Castilla por cortes que se hicieron en Burgos, y por el autoridad papal y consistorial. 20

Amigable paz entre Fran^{co} Rey de Francia, y Carlos, Principe Archiduque, hecha en Paris por Enrrique, Conde de Nassau, consertando de casar con Carlos á Renea, hermana de la Reyna Claudia, que tambien se la prometieron por esposa los años pasados.

Halla Gaspar de Morales muchas perlas en Tararequi, de la qual isla y de la de Cubagua que descubrió Christoual Colon han traydo á España infinitissimas.

La armada portuguesa se pierde sobre Azamor, tocando
30 en la barra 80 Carauellas, y matando y prendiendo los moros cerca de 3 M. portugueses.

Trauan amistad los Reyes Enrrique, y Francisco. Pide fauor Maximiliano Sforza, Duque de Milan, para resistir al Rey Fr^{co}, al Papa Leon, al Emp^{or} y á esguizaros.

Passa el Rey Fr^{co} á Italia para ganar á Milan con grande brauosidad, llamado de venecianos y ginoueses. La batalla y vitoria del Rey Fr^{co} en Malignan contra los esguizaros, teniendo él muchedumbre de soldados, con ocho mil de acauallo á la ligera y quatro mil hombres de armas francesas,
40 y ellos mas de treynta mil peones, en que auia italianos y algunos españoles. Gana el Rey Fr^{co} á Milán y enuia preso á Francia al Duque Maximiliano.

Vistas del Papa Leon y del Rey Fr^{co} en Bolonia, el qual huuo alli bulas de cruzada, y el patronazgo de los obispados y abadias de Francia y aunque pretendió el nombre y corona de Emperador de Costantinopla.

Confederacion contra el Rey Fr^{co} entre Maximiliano Emperador, el Rey Don Fran^{do}, Enrrique Rey de Inglaterra, y suyzos.

50 Junta en Viena, del Emperador Maximiliano y de los reyes hermanos, Vladislao de Vngria y Sigismundo de Polonia, con grande caualleria, y embaxadores de muchas partes, los quales consertaron que Segismundo casase con Bona hija de Juan Galeaso Sforza, Duque de Milan, y Luis hijo de Vladislao, con Maria Infanta de Castilla, y el Inffante Don Fernando ó el Principe don Carlos, con Ana hija del mismo Rey Vlasdislao.

Entra Italia con exército el Emperador Maximiliano y vueluese sobre Milán sin hacer nada.

60 Entran suyzos ansi mismo en el delfinado sobre Brianzon.

Guerrillas entre vngaros y turcos, cuyo Capitan era Junos Basa.

Guerra entre polacos y moscouitas.

Muere Vladislao, Rey de Vngria, que fué muy deuoto Cristiano.

Vence Selin en batalla muy sangrienta, al Rey de Capadocia Aladola en Marat, cuya cabeça inuió á Venecia que fue presente de barbaro, despues de auerla traydo á mostrar por todas aquellas partes.

Año de 1516

Murió en Madrigalejo, el Catholico Rey Don Fernando que de tal nombre fue V en Castilla y II en Aragón, cuyas uirtudes fueron muchas aunque no sin vicios. Fueron sus coronistas fray Juan Bauprista Mantuano, A^o de Palenzia, Antonio de Nibrixia, Pedro Martir milanes, fray Bernardino Gentil de Scicilcia, Hernando del Pulgar, Tristan de Silua, Gracia Dei gallego, Hernando de Riuera, y Carauajal. Escriuieron tambien algo Andres Bernal, G^{co} F^{rz} de Ouiedo, y otros, empero escriue mejor que todos Geronimo Çorita en la historia que nombra de las empresas del Rey Don Fernando 10 el Catholico. Compiten sobre la gou^{cion} de Castilla fr. Fran^{co} Ximenes, Cardenal y Arcobispo de Toledo, y Adrian Florencio, dean de Louayna, que auia^e venido sobre la misma gouernacion, y á tomar la posesion del reyno, por el Principe Don Carlos.

El Cardenal fr. Fran^{co} Ximenes, como gouernador, ordena soldados labradores dando las armas y *eserciciones*, que algunos se lo tuuieron á mal, y aun quiso haçer nueva moneda y quitar las salinas y alcaualas á muchos, que lo 20 tuuieron por peor.

Asonada de D. Pedro Portocarrero, para tomar el Maestrasgo de Santiago en Llerena.

El alboroto que hiço en Aréualo el contador Mayor Juan Velasques contra la reyna Germana.

La batalla de Non entre los *nuestros* y franceses.

Otra batalla del Coronel Fernando de Billalua de Plascençia con el Marichal Don Pedro de Nauarra, que despues se mató.

Amistad renouada entre Don Carlos, nuevo Rey de Spaña, y Fran^{co} Rey de Francia, la qual fue fauorable para el Rey 30

Fran^{co}, y assi el se defendia despues con ella, y sus malas causas. Fue pues allende otras cosas que satisficiese Carlos á Enrique de la Brit por Nauarra (cuyo Rey se llamaua) lo que mandasen los jueces arbitros que ambos nombrarian, y que casase con Luysa hija chiquita de Fran^{co}, y si aquella muriese, con la hija no nacida, cosa nunca hecha, y que faltando entrambos, casase todavia con Renea, que despues fue Duquesa de Ferrara, segun se consertara el año pasado ; en fauor de cuyos matrimonios renunció el Rey Fran^{co} el
40 derecho que pretendia tener á Napoles, por cien mil escudos de tributo en cada vn año. Los quales desde luego cobrase.

Sienten mucho en España los consiertos de Nayon por lo de Nauarra y por los cien mil escudos de pension.

Tienta el Rey Fran^{co} de traer al Rey Carlos contra el Rey Enrique de Inglaterra, teniendo con el amistad presente.

El bien aventurado nacimiento de Maria Princesa de Gales, que reduxo en Cristiandad á Inglatierra.

Horruch Barbarroxa se haçe Rey de Argel.

50 El desbarate de Diego de Vera en Argel.

Hace guerra en Frisa el Rey Don Carlos teniendo spañoles.

El çerco rezio de Bresa, estando dentro spañoles con el comendador Icart, y fuera gascones y nauarros con el Conde Pedro Navarro.

El çerco de Verona que tambien fué rezio, pero dexola el Emperador Maximiliano para venecianos conforme á los conciertos de Nayon por 200M. escudos, y alli fenecieron sus guerras en Italia.

Destroçan los gueldreses Astolanda.

60 Aliança perpetua de los esguizaros con el Rey Fran^{co} que les paga tributo, con lo qual franceses se han valido y ellos cobrado gran reputacion.

La terrible batalla de Selim con Campson Soldan de Egipto en Aleppo, donde 13 mil janizaros vencieron 14 mil mamalucos, que á la sazón eran tenidos por los mejores soldados de Assia, aunque por trayçion, segun pareció, de cayer Señor de Aleppo. Huuo tanto estruendo y ruydo de armas y gente que huyeron todas las aues y animales

de aquel llano, y aun ensurdecieron muchos hombres para siempre. Murieron á su cuenta cien mil hombres combatientes de ambas partes; cayeron Selim, que fué socorrido, y Campson que murió. Los que allí mas esfuerço y destreza mostraron fueron Sinan Bassa y Jambardo, que otros llaman el Gazel.

Entró Selim en Damasco, donde tuuo que responder á 22 nacciones, cada vna de su lenguaje.

Otra braua pelea sin vitoria en Carici, cerca de Guzaxa, de Alguacil con 6 mil hombres y de Sinan con mas de 10 M, por despartirlos la noche. Dexó la ropa el Alguazil por llevar los heridos para que no dixesen que auian sido vencido, y 80 Sinan corta las cabeças a los mamelucos muertos y las colgó, clauadas de las barbas que tragan muy largas, para que Selim las viese.

Vesita Selim el S^{to} Sepulcro de Jesus Cristo, haziendo limosna con diuocion á los frayles y peregrinos.

Muere G^o Hernandez de Cordoa el Gran Capitan, de quien muchos an scripto.

Año de 1517

Diferencias sobre el priorazgo de San Juan con armas entre los Duques de Alua y de Bejar, el vno por Don Antonio de Zuñiga su hermano, y el otro por Don Diego de Toledo su hijo.

Muere la Réyna de Portugal Doña Maria.

Muere tambien Luysa de Francia, que auia de casar con el Rey Don Carlos.

Viene Carlos á reynar de Flandes á España por mar, y juranlo en Valladolid por Rey de Castilla los procuradores de Cortes. 10

Hereda Carlos estos Reynos de España, por auer muerto despues que nació el Principe Don Miguel, y el que parió la Reyna Germana, que fué la buena fortuna.

Es tambien cosa notable que le ayan venido todos esos reynos, por lo qual me ha parecido contar como se han juntado tantos y tan diferentes con la breuedad que los sumarios requieren.

El primer conde de Auspourg, estado pequeño en Alemania, fué Othbert, cauallero notable, del qual descende
 20 Carlos, por linea siempre derecha de varon en varon. Ca fué Othbert hijo de Sigubert, y nieto de Theodobert, y visnieto de Childebert, y rebisnieto de Sigisbert y tataranieto del Rey Clotario, que fué hijo de Clodoueo, el primer Rey christiano de Francia; y Clodoueo fué hijo de Childerio, y nieto de Moroueo, y bisnieto de Clodio, y rebisnieto de Pharamundo, Conde de Franconia, que fué tambien el primer Rey de Francia, seiscientos y pocos mas años despues que Cristo nació, cuyo linaje ya entonces era grande y poderoso.

30 Desciende pues de *padre* á hijo los que siguen: Othbert, conde prº de Ausbourg, Bebo, Roperto, Amprinto, Gontram, Lutardo, Verner, Rapoto, Berengario, Otho, Verner, Alberto, Alberto II, Rodolfo Emperador, Alberto III que fue primer duque de Austria y Emperador, Alberto que fue segundo Duque y Conde de Tirol y Carinthia, Leopoldo, Ernesto, Alberto, Fadrique Emperador, que se llamó Archiduque, Maximiliano Emperador que por la muger fué Duque de Borgoña y conde de Flandes, Phelipe que por su muger fué Rey de Castilla, Carlos que lo heredó todo.

40 Los Duques de Borgoña que contaré fueron pocos empero muy ilustres, ca no ay para que yr mas ariua: Phº el Osado, hijo del Rey de Francia, huuo por su muger Margarita el Ducado de Borgoña y el condado de Flandes con otros estados; de Phelipe su hijo Juan, de Juan su hijo Phelipe, de Phº su hijo Carlos; de Carlos fué hija Maria, que casó con el Emperador Maximiliano, de Maria fué hijo Phelipe, padre de *nuestro* Carlos.

El primer Conde de Flandes, que lo huuo con Judith su muger, hija del Rey Carlos el Caluo, fué Baldouino I,
 50 Baldouino 2º, Arnulfo magno, B. 3º, Arnulfo 2º, B. 4º, Baldouino 5º, B. 6, Arnulfo 3º infelix, Roberto Frisio, Roberto 2º, B. 7 el de la hacha, Carlos el Bueno, Guilelmo hermano, Theodorico Alsatio, Phelippe Alsacio, Margarita, Baldouino, Emperador de Constantinopla, Juana, Margarita, Guido, Roberto, Luis de Cressi, Luis de Male,

Margarita, Juan, Phylipe el Bueno, Carlos, Margarita, con el Emperador Maximiliano, Phelipe Rey de Castilla, Carlos.

El Condado de Barselona vino tambien por muger á heredar los Reyes de Aragon, cuyos Reyes se llamaron ⁶⁰ Jaufredo, que fué el 1º, Jaufredo 2º, Ojofremiron, Jaufredo 3º, Borrel, Ramon 5º, que fué Rey de Aragon por su muger Petronilla.

Los Reyes de Soarbe y de Aragon fueron Garci Ximenes, Garci Iñiguez, Iñigo Arista, Garci Iñiguez, Sancho Garci, Garci Sanches, Sancho 2º, Ramiro, Sancho 3º, Pº Alonso, Ramiro 2º, Ramon por Petronilla ó Petronilla con Ramon, conde de Barselona, Alonso 2º, Pedro 2º, Jaime que conquistó á Mallorca, Menorca y *Ibiza*, Pedro 3º, que huuo á Sicilia por su muger Doña Costança hija de Manfredo, ⁷⁰ Alº 3º, Jaime 2º, que fué tambien Rey de Cerdeña, Alonso 4º, Pº 4º, Juan que tuuo á Sicilia, Martin, Frº por eleccion, Alº 5º, Juan 2º, Fernando 2º, que fué tambien de Castilla por la Reyna Isauel, Carlos. Los Reyes de Castilla y de Leon que siempre han venido de padres hijos ó yernos á hijos ó hijas, por lo qual es muy grande su nobleza, son estos: Pelayo, Fauila, Exmisenda con Aº su marido, Mauregato, Bermudo, Alº 2º, Ramiro, Ordoño, Alonso 3º, Garcia, Ordoño 2º, Fruela 2º, Alonso 4º, Ramiro 2º, Ordoño 4º, Sancho, Ramiro 3º, Bermudo 2º, Alº 5º, Bermudo 3º, ⁸⁰ Sancha con Frº su marido, Sancho con Eluira, Alonso 6º, Urraca con Alº Rey de Aragon, Berangela con Alº, Fernando *segundo*, Sancho 3º, Alº 9, Enrrique, Fernando 3º, Alº X, Sancho 4º, Fernando 4º, Alonso XI, Pedro, Enrrique, Bastardo, Juan, Enrrique 3º, Juan 2º, Enrrique 4º, Isauel con Frº Rey de Aragon, que conquistó á Napoles y á Nauarra, Juana con Phelipe, Archiduque de Austria, Carlos.

Assi que todos estos reynos, estados y señorios han venido á parar en Carlos, que comiença este año á reinar en Castª con su madre la Reyna Doña Juana, que no quiso ni pudo ⁹⁰ reynar sola, del qual esta obra toma principio.

Aspra de Frisa se tomó por el Rey Don Carlos á fuerça.

Muere Fray Frº Ximenes de Cisneros, Cardenal y Arçob-

bispo de Toledo en Roa, que fue varon de grandissimo valor. Era natural de Tordelaguna y siendo canonigo de Sigüença se metió frayle Fr^{co}. Fué confesor de la Reyna de Castilla Doña Isauel, y Arçobispo de Toledo y cardenal y gouernador de Castilla, solo y acompañado, y siéndolo, quitó el Iff^{te} Don Fr^{do} á Gonzalo Nuñez de Guzman su ayo,
100 y hiço y dexó muchas cosas con grande autoridad. Pasó rezias palabras con el Rey Catholico, sobre que le pedia el Arçobispado de Toledo para su hijo Don Juan, Arçobispo de Çaragoça, diciendo que lo haria Papa. Tuuo inuidiosos y que no lo alavan, ó porque mandaua mucho, ó por que no andaua en la gracia del Rey. Ganó á Oran, hiço muchos monasterios, fundó la vniversidad de Alcalá de Henares, dotándola ricamente, aunque de muchos beneficios, cosa ciertamente real, y tan prouechosa como noble. Hiço consertar y imprimir la Biblia en muchas lenguas, que le costa
110 buenos dineros y plata labrada y joyas quando murió.

Dieta en Maguncia sobre que todos los Reyes obedescan al Emperador, con que causó algunos bulliços de guerra specialmente en Francia.

Guerras del Papa Leon con Fran^{co} Maria, Duque de Urbino, por auer aquel estado para L^{co} de Medices, á importunacion de Alfonsina su cuñada.

Una rezia pelea, que no tuuo vit^a, entre Selim y Tamos, nueuo Soldan, en Matera cerca de Alcayro, en la qual mató el alguazil á Sinan y huuo muchos muertos; para los
120 enterrar se hicieron treguas por tres dias, y salieron de la ciudad dos mil sacerdotes, y auia en el Real de Selim dos mil y 200.

Otra pelea tambien sin vitoria, que duró todo un dia, aunque decian los turcos que tenian de vencer, pues el Alguazil no estaua en ella. Entonçes alabó mucho Selim á los mamelucos por esforçados, y sus mugeres les rogaron quando salieron á pelear del Cayro que las matasen, diziendo que no querian otros maridos si ellos muriesen, y si vençiesen que no les faltarian otras.

130 Otra batalla no vencida en que fué preso el alguazil junto al Nilo, teniendo el Turco cien mil hombres y el Soldan

quince myl solamente. Empero huyó el Soldán por auer perdido á su buen Capitan y amigo Jamburdo, el Alguazil.

Mata Selim á Tamos Soldan que se le entregó Cayer, el que fue traydor á Camson. Dióle por torm^{to} por que dixese del thesoro. Truxole vn camello, y con cadenas á la garganta por las calles de Alcayro con pregon afrontoso, y ahorcólo de la puerta de Benzomil, siendo tan grande P^e. Y tomó posesion del señorío de Egipto, y se sentó en la silla de los soldanes, contra la vsança del gran Turco, que suele sentarse ¹⁴⁰ sobre alhombras en tierra. Costóle Egipto 250M hombres sin otros tantos enemigos que mató.

Por ser el alguazil spañol huelgo de contar quien fué, aunque sea prolixo. Era pues el alguazil natural de Seuilla. Su madre que se llamaua Juana lo lleuó á Jerusalem yendo allá por deuocion, aunque niño de diez años. Campson que auia ydo aquel año á Hierusalem le hizo hurtar por ser lindo y gracioso y llevar á Alcayro, donde fué luego hecho mameluco, tomando nombre de Janburgo. Habló la Juana con el Soldan, suplicándole con muchas lagrimas le hiciese ¹⁵⁰ boluer su hijo, pues venian allí los peligrinos cristianos con su *licencia* y saluo conduto. El Soldán le respondió lo que auia sido del niño, y le dió muchos dineros para quese voluiese á España con sus compañeros, prometiendola tratarlo muy bien, y porfiando ella de auerlo, dixo que se lo inuiaria. Esperó ella vn año, y despues fuese á Alcayro. Lloró mucho allando su hijo en ábito de mameluco, temiendo que renegase, como renegó, y nunca lo pudo auer en quatro años, al fin de los quales se fue dicho que no podia tornar á ser cristiano aquel mameluco, pues era 15 años, sin que por ello muriese, ¹⁶⁰ por lo qual ella se boluió á Jerusalem, donde murió. Dende á mucho *tiempo*, salió Jambardo tan agraciado moso y tan gentil cortesano que priuó con el Soldan, y assi le hiço Alguazil de Alcayro, que segun dicen es la principal persona en aquella ciudad, y del *officio* le llaman todos alguazil, auiendole de llamar alguazil. Salió assi mismo tan buen soldado y tan hombre de guerra que fue Capitan de los mamelucos, y tan valiente que nunca los janizaros segun ellos confesauan toparon su par, ca en

170 la batalla de Matera cortó de vn reues la mano por la munheca, que fué tiro despañol, á Sinan Bassa, que acauaua de haçer saltar los ojos á Setelin mameluco, de vn golpe de masa, alçandola para darle, y luego le mató. Los turcos se marauillaron por que Sinan, como albanes, era el mas valiente Capitan que Selim tenia, y en la batalla del Nilo por el no vencieron los turcos. Informado Selim de su esfuerço y lealtad lo mandó sentar quando se lo truxeron delante y le dixo: Yo amo y gualardonno mucho los valientes hombres como tu, y quíerote perdonar si prometes serme tan leal
180 como lo as sido á los soldanes Camson y Tamos que vencí, dexandote con el mismo cargo de alguacil, y aun te daré otro mas honrrado, por tanto dime la verdad de lo que piensas en tu coraçon. El alguazil suspiró recio, arrasandose los ojos. Leuantóse, besó la tierra, y al cauo de vna piesa respondió: Señor, yo soy español, y criado desde chiquito en la cámara de Camson, y con Tamos que uos matastes, entre el qual y mi nunca huuo hazienda, ni aun voluntad apartada. Trauajé mucho que fuese Soldan, y quanto lo acaué con el hice arto. He le servido y seguido en su prospera y ayrada
190 fortuna, deseando acauar mi uida con la suya. Mas empero Dios, en cuya deuina mano estan la uida y muerte de los hombres, a otra cosa ordenado, y pues assi es, tengo á buena ventura auer caydo en *vuestro* poder y graçia, que sin yo lo merece me ofereceis quanto el Soldan me pudo dar. Lo que mi coraçon tiene dire á *vuestra* gran alteça, á quien no se deue mentir, especialmente yo, que siempre me precio de hablar verdad y de mantenerla. Quise tanto a Tamos Bey que cada uez que me acordare quan deshonrradamente le hizistes matar, os aborreceré y querréos mal; reciuiendo de
200 uos la uida y tan magna merced seria trayçion grandíssima, y aunque las gentes no lo sentiesen ni lo pensasen lo conoceria yo, me ternia por otro del que hasta oy ser he procurado; assi que os suplico me colgueis en la misma puerta que colgastes á Tamos mi señor, lleuandome la misma gente por las mismas calles con el mismo pregon para que seamos conformes en la muerte como en la uida lo fuimos. Dichas estas palabras con lagrimas y solloços, se cayó amortecido;

Selim lo hiço leuantar, diziendo mas estimare ganar la voluntad deste que otro Alcayro. Mandó que lo tuuiesen en la fortaleza con buena guarda, pero con mucha libertad. 210 Estando alli, se huyó el alguazil con Nicolo janizaro acauallo, y se fué á la sierra, donde se auian recogido los pocos mamalucos que quedaron, con los quales se fué á Tauris donde le receuió muy bien Ismael Sophi y lo hiço su capitan general. Hazia tan buenas cosas el alguazil en Persia, que le llamaron el gran Diablo, aunque deuia ser por que les mostra la artelleria, que no la tenian ; quando Ismael murió le dexó por capitan y tutor de Tambran Sophi su hijo mayor, al qual el consejó que tuuiese soldados españoles y se ligase con el Emperador Don Carlos, Rey de Castilla. 220

Comiença Martin Luther, frayle reglar agostino, á predicar y escriuir heregias en Alemania, tomando asillo de las indulgencias y bulas, que causó grandissima pérdida de christiandad, y fué comienço de infinitos males que suelen acarrear semejantes nouedades, con la nouedad de la vida y 1^{ca} despues.

Año de 1518

Juran en Çaragoça los aragoneses al Rey *nuestro* Señor Don Carlos.

Enuia desde Çaragoça el rey á fr. Garci Jofre de Loaysa de la orden de San Juan, á rogar á Selim gran Turco, no maltrate, ni tan poco impida los perigrinos que huan a Hierusalen ; el qual dixo que degrado, con tanto que no cogiese griegos en Italia, y aun dixo que se marauillaua que huuiesen hechado los judios de Castilla, pues hera hechar la riqueza.

Va el Iff^{te} Don Fernando á Flandes. 10

Casa la infanta Doña Leonór con Don Manuel, Rey de Portugal, para enuiudar temprano.

Da el Rey el arçobispado de Toledo á Guillen de Croy, sobrino de Mons de Xeures que ya era obispo de Cambray, lo qual desplugo mucho á todo el Reyno por ser estrangero.

Matan españoles á Horruch Barbarroxa, que gentilmente exercitó las armas por agua y tierra, con moros y cristianos.

El desbarate de Don Vgo de Moncada, en Argel.

Cria el Papa Leon 31 cardenales en un solo día, que sonó
20 muy mal, siendo los mas por dineros.

Año de 1519

Juran en Barzelona los catalanes al Rey Carlos, Rey de España, elegido por Emperador de romanos en Francofort, con grandissima competencia del Rey Fran^{co} de Francia, que corrompia los electores con dadiuas y ofrecimientos, por sus embaxadores y amigos, los quales, ayudados del Cardenal y legado Tomas de Vio Cajetano, frayle de bien : fuera de esto dixerón mucho mal con grandes injurias del nuevo Emperador, y aun el Rey Fran^{co} mismo dixo que
10 aquella competencia, como en lo de vna linda dama, el que quedase vencido no queria bien al otro que la lleuase.

Hace la fiesta del Tuson el Emperador Carlos V en Barzelona, en la qual dió el collar al condestable de Castilla, Don Iñigo de Velasco, al Duque de Cardona, Don , á Don Fadrique de Toledo, Duque de Alua, á Don Aluaro de Cúñiga, Duque de Béjar, y á Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, Duque de Nájera.

Casa la Reyna Germana con el Marques Juan de Brandenburg, por lo qual no la querian muchos señores llamar
20 Alteza, hasta que lo mandó el Emperador.

Va Doña Beatriz de Portugal á casar con el Duque Carlos de Sauoya.

La Batalla de Cintla *que* venció Fr^{do} Cortes contra los tauascanos.

Reciue Monteczumacim en México á Cortes amigablemente.

Prende Cortes á Monteczuma, que fué tan gran osadia como hazaña.

Mata Pedrarias de Auila el Justador á Vasco Nuñes de
30 Valboa, que fue buen capitan en las Indias.

Passa Fr^{do} Magallanes por su estrecho, yendo buscar la especiaria.

Treguas por cinco años entre los P^{es} cristianos á inter-

cesion del Papa Leon por temor del Turco, el qual tambien temió de ellas.

Pide al Emperador Carlos el Rey Fr^{co} rehenes y seguridad de los contratos de Nayon por su Emb^{or} Lansart, ganoso de hacerle guerra.

Muere Maximiliano Emperador, que fué sin ninguna duda el mas liberal principe de su tiempo. Tardó diez años de 40
ablar, por lo qual pensó el Emperador Fadrique su padre que fuera mudo y bouo, mas el salió bien ablado y bien sauio. Emprendió muchas y dificultosisimas guerras, y assi no acauó las mas por ser grandes, aunque tambien deuia ser por falta de dineros. Escriuió su uida muy larga con la de los emperadores el coronista P^o Mexia, hombre de muchas gracias.

Viene á Barzelona Baudilca Rey de Tenez, á pedir ayuda contra Haradin Barbarroxa, que lo hechó del Reyno.

Año de 1520

Pasando Carlos Emp^{or} á Flandes por mar, se ué con Enrique octauo, Rey de Inglaterra.

Entra Carlos en Alemania y conságrase por Emperador en Aquisgran.

Comiençan las comonidades en Castilla, que de buen principio tuuieron mal fin, y que hicieron mayor al Rey de lo que dantes era, queriendole abatir. Leuantaronse por que se iua el Rey, por el serv^o, por el gouernador estrangero, por el mucho dinero que se sacaua del Reyno, por que se dieron la contaduria mayor al Cheurez, el arçobispado de 10
Toledo á Guillen de Croy, y encomiendas á hombres estraños.

Maltratan en muchas ciudades á sus procuradores por que otorgaron el serv^o, y en Segouia matan al regidor Tor-desillas, por lo qual fue allá el alcalde Ronquillo.

De XIII pueblos que tenian voto en Cortes, los 13 se juntan por la comonidad en Auila y piden LX cosas por capitulo.

Tienen culpa en la comonidad frayles y confesores. Apoderanse los comuneros de la Rn^a Doña Juana, y tratan de casarla con el Duque de Calabria.

Entran en Tordesillas por combate los caualleros, á tomar la Reyna.

México se rebela contra los españoles.

Puebla Pedrarias de Auila en Panamá.

Muere fray Diego de Deça, Arçobispo de Seuilla, siendo electo para Toledo, que fué maestre del Principe Don Juan y que hiço el colegio de S^{to} Thomas en Seuilla; era buen theologo y compuso algo, y en ello vna declaracion del Pater Noster en Romance.

30 Condena el Papa Leon Martin Luther por herege.

Muere de vna pedrada Monteczuma, Rey poderosissimo, cuya grandeça y estado escreuí en la Conq^{ta} de México.

Júntanse los Reyes y Reynos de Francia y Inglaterra en Ardres con mas pompa que negocios, aunque trataron de casar al Delphin con Maria Princesa de Gales, prometiendo amistad perpetua.

Muere Selim gran Turco mordiendo las manos, de que se le comian las entrañas de cancer, en Churlo, donde peleó con su p^e. Viuió 46 años y los ocho Rey. Era Selim alto
40 de cuerpo y corto de piernas, gesto redondo, color amarillo, ojos gruesos; era seuro, corajudo, atreuido; era constante, ambicioso, mas no apocado y diligente, diziendo que con la dilacion se perdian las buenas ocasiones en los grandes propositos, cruel sobre manera, aunque justicero, y assí mató á su p^e y á dos hermanos y á muchos sobrinos y 62 hombres de su linaje, diziendo no auer cosa mas dulce que reynar sin parientes, palabra indina odiada. Dexó una camisa tinta en ponçoña, quando fué contra el Sophi, para que Pirro Bassan la vestiese á Soliman su hijo, si tratase de alçarse con
50 el reyno en su ausencia, aunque otros dicen que por que le afeauan sus crueldades. Mató á Mustafa Basa por que auisó los hijos de Amad para que huyesen, y Schandes Basa por que ponía deficultades en la guerra del Sofi en passar el rio Eufrates, y á Bustan Basa cuñado suyo, por que tomaua presentes y cohechos, y á Xunos Basa por que amotinó los janisarios contra Cayer, y á Cuemdeno Basa, por que le aconsejaua libremente, y al médico judio con su propia çimitera, por que no consentia que le cortasen los

cirujanos la carne del canser, diziendo que cundia mas; enterró en Alcayro su cauallo muriendo, por que lo librara 60 de la batalla que dió en Churlu á su mismo p^o, en que confirmó su bestialidad, pues dexó sin sepulturas á sus propios hermanos, sobrinos, parientes y criados fauorecidos. Fué gran batallador y solia dizir que las vitorias no eran cumplidas, si el señor no las ganaua. Fué templado en mugeres y aun en comer. Comia vna sola vianda, y aquella no delicada, que lo sostuuo sano. Fué gran caçador por exerciçio y grandeza. El año que morió, por no sentir ni pensar su mal, beuió, aunque contra voluntad de los médicos, vna beuida de linaça confisionada con muchas cosas, que 70 saca de seso por 24 horas, y que siempre haçe pensar en lo que piensan al beuer, si a mugeres, veen por el aire, si en guerra, batalla, si en caça, fieras, y ellas muriendo. No traya barba, fuera del vso de los Reyes sus antepassados, diziendo que por que no tirasen de ella, como á su p^o los Bassas y janizaros. Dixo á Piro Bassa, que le aconsejaua hiciese algun ospital y obras pias de muchas de particulares que tomara en Bursia, y otras ciudades : No es bueno que yo me honrré con lo ageno, dexando tales mandas ; por eso restetuyanselas. Fué buena raçon, aunque de boca mala. 80

Comiença Soliman, único hijo de Selim, á reynar en Constantinopla.

Enuián los gouernadores á San Sebastian á Don Beltran de la Cueva, el qual peleó con franceses y tudescos en la Peña de Aldaua y los venció sin *que* le matassen mas de uno, y aquel por una arcabusada por la boca *que* renegaua.

Passa el Emperador á Inglaterra, viniendo á España, y habla con el Rey Enrrique sobre amistad y casam^{to} con su hija. 90

Buelue á España el Emp^{or}, y allana las comonidades de Castilla, castigando á unos y perdonando á otros.

Guerra en Flandes, por la qual ua el Emperador á Tornaí, que tenian franceses.

Ay dieta en Vvormeson, en la qual demanda guerra el Rey Francisco al Emperador, ausente.

Guerra en Borgoña entre flamencos y franceses, si hacer cosa hazañosa.

Ordena el Rey Francisco los franc archeros, braueando
100 contra el Emperador y contra Italia.

Guerra del Rey Enrrique de Inglaterra en Picardia.

La luenga nauegaçon de Juan Sebastian del Cano, que rodeó todo el mundo.

Año de 1521

La batalla de Villalar, que perdieron los comuneros por valientemente *que* pelearon Juan Brauo y Juan de Padilla, Capitan general.

La solene justicia que á otro día de la batalla hiço el Alcalde Antonio, degollando por comuneros á Juan de Padilla, Juan Brauo y P^o Maldonado, y despues fueron degollados Sarauia en Valladolid, y Don Pedro Pimentel de Talauera en Simancas.

Mató entonçes un carnero al soldado que lo lleuaua
10 hurtado, y hechado al cuello, trastornandole de la pared donde se puso á descansar, que se tuuo a marauilla; sobre lo qual ui en Roma diez años despues matar vn moço de espuelas del Cardenal Loaysa á otro que auian apostado, haziendo la prueua del carnero en vn alcándara que no podía ser.

El Terremoto de Almeria y de Lx^a santaren.

Gana Fernando Cortes á Mexico.

Muere Fernando Magallanes peleando con Cilapulapo en Matan.

20 Descubren castellanos los malucos en Tidore, una de las islas que lleuan especiarias.

Mueue guerra el Rey Francisco por Luxembourg, contra lo de Nayon con Roberto de la Marca, Conde de Aremberg, sin auisar *primero* al Emperador, y enuia por Nauarra con exercito al señor de Lesparre Andres de Foix, el qual tomó á Pamplona y çercó á Logroño.

Tiene dieta el Emperador en Worms, que fué la *primera* que hiço, donde habló contra su magestad Barroys, Embaxador del Rey Fr^{co}, descortesm^{te}.

Entran en Picardia con exercito del Emperador, Enrrique 30 de Nassau y *Francisco* Schine, por lo de Roberto y de Andres de Foix, empero no hicieron mucho fruto.

Vencen y prenden tras la sierra de Veniega el condestable Don Iñigo de Velasco, y el Almirante Don Fadrique Enrriques, gouernadores de Castilla, al señor Lesparre por Don Beltran de la Cueva, que ganó la artilleria de los enemigos.

Salen al campo cabe Valenchienas el Emp^{or} y el Rey Fr^{oo}, con buenos exércitos, mas no hicieron cosa que sea de contar.

40

Solene condenacion de las heregias lutheranas, por el Emperador en Worms, y por el Rey de Francia en Paris.

La Germania de Valencia con el Rey en cuuerto, la qual deshicieron en Moruuiedro Don Alonso de Aragon, Duque de Segorue, y en Valencia Don Rodrigo de M^{ca}, Marques de Zenete.

El motin de los que se llamauan del diablo, en Guiana.

Hecha el Rey de Francia subsidios á los clerigos para las guerras.

Casan Don Fernando y Doña María, Infantes de Castilla, 50 ella con el Rey Luis de Hungria, y el con Ana, su hermana.

Muere Don Manuel Rey de Portugal, hombre de pequeño cuerpo, mas de grande coraçon, en cuyo nombre se hicieron muchas buenas cosas en Arabia, Persia, India, y otras prouincias de Asia. Casó con dos hermanas y vna sobrina, todas parientas suyas, y en todas tuuo hijos, ca en la Reyna Princesa huuo al Principe Don Miguel, y con Doña Maria, su hermana, muchos, y en Doña Leonor, su sobrina, vna hija que se llama Maria.

Liganse contra el Rey Francisco el Papa y el Emp^{or}, en 60 fauor del Duque de Milan, Fr^{co} Sforza; el Papa, por que ayudaua á Fr^{co} Maria Duque de Urbino contra el, y por auer Parma y Plazencia y á vna Ferrara, el Emperador por lo de Roberto y Lesparre, y aun por echar franceses de Italia, y por que le competia como Emperador restetuir al Duque.

Dos buenos exércitos en Ada, rio de Lombardia, vno del Rey de Francia con Lautrec, y de venecianos con Theodoro

Triulçio y Duque de Ferrara, y otro de la liga con Fr^{co} Sforça, en el qual era Capitan del Papa Fadrique de 70 Gonzaga, Marques de Mantua, y del Emperador Prospero Colona.

Anda la guerra en Lombardia, mas cercando lugares.

Murió el Papa Leon, que fué liberalissimo.

Eleccion del Papa Adriano 6º, estando en Vitoria.

Guerra entre Luis Rey de Vngria y el Vayboda, que llamó al Turco.

Toma Soliman por tratos á Belgrado, lugar de Vngria importantissimo, que fue la primera guerra que hiço por su persona. Mató al que se lo dió contra su juramento, 80 diciendo que ya le daua tierra como se la prometiera en dar la sepultura, y á otros tambien; con que no auia rey traydor, palabra de Tirano.

Año de 1522

El Arçobispo de Barri, Grauiel Merino, con el Dean y Cabildo, y con el mariscal Payo de Riuera y otros caualleros de Toledo, vence y hecha fuera de la ciudad á Doña Maria Pacheco, mujer de Juan de Padilla, mas comunera que su marido; la qual se salió huyendo para Portugal sobre vn asno en traje de labradora, con vnos ansarones en las manos por no ser conocida, que de otra manera tambien la degollaran. Porfió tanto las comunidades pensando ser reyna, que assi se lo dixerón en Granada ciertas hechizeras moriscas. 10 Prendia clerigos, mataua hombres, y queria ser mui obedecida, tomó las cruces por vanderas, y aun traya pintado en vn pendon á Juan de Padilla degollado.

La conquista de Nicaragua por Gil Gonçalez de Auila.

Entra en Milán el Duque Fran^{co} Sforça por virtud de los españoles, que capitaneaua el marques de Pescara.

Toman por fuerça Lautrec á Nouara y el Prospero á Alexandria.

La Batalla de la Bicoca, donde tomaron los *nuestros* 17 banderas á los enemigos, y murió Don Juan de Cordoa, 20 conde de Golisano.

El saco de Genoua tan famoso por los españoles.

Pasa el Papa Adriano á Roma con buena flota española.

Entra por Nauarra con grande exercito Guillen Gouffier, almirante de Francia ; cerca á Pamplona *que* la defendió el conde de Miranda Don Fran^{co} de Zúñiga ; toma luego á Amaya y despues Fuenterrabia, por culpa de Diego de Vera.

Año de 1523

Cerca el Condestable Don Iñigo de Velasco Fuenterrabia, estando el Emperador en Vitoria, y fue trauajoso cerco por las muchas aguas y frios.

Concierto entre Carlos Emperador y el rey de Inglaterra, en daño del rey de Francia, ausandole de la guerra.

Puebla Fran^{co} Hernandes á Muarasua, por Pedrarias de Auila.

Muere Diego Velasquez de Cuellar, auiendo sido el mas rico español de las Indias.

Entregan franceses el Castillo de Milan al duque Francisco 10 Sforça.

Liga del Papa y Emperador, duque de Milan, Venecianos, Florencia, Sena, Luca y Genoua, contra quien pertubase la paz de Italia.

Prueua Bonifacio Visconde de matar á puñaladas al duque de Milan, su pariente.

Cerca, mas en vano, á Milan Guillen Gouffier almirante de Francia con 30 M hombres y 4 M caualllos, teniendo dentro el Prospero Colona doce mil soldados, los 4 M españoles.

Entra por Francia el exército ingles y flamenco, que 20 metia mucho miedo á Paris, y que hizo daño sin prouecho suyo ; era de mas de 30.000 peones, y de seis mil á cauallo.

Huye de Francia con gentil astucia Carlos duque de Borbon, y la guerra se enputó al rey Francisco por el Emperador en Borgoña.

Anda gran rebuelta en Alemania del comun con la clerezia.

Muere el Papa Adriano sexto, que no mudó nombre. Era olandes y dean de Louayna, q^{do} el Emp^{or} Maximiliano lo hizo maestro de Carlos su nieto, por hombre docto y bueno. Vino á España por embaxador al Rey Catholico sobre la 30 gouernacion de Castilla, y á tomar posesion del reyno por

don Carlos. Fue gouernador de Castilla y obispo de Tortosa. Mormuran de el porque no se desemboluió como sus antecessores, y aun por que afeó á los cardenales sus vicios y pages, y por que no socorrió á Rodas. No quiso absolver á los que saquearon á Genoua ni pasar el arçobispado de Toledo en Don Jorge de Austria, hijo bastardo del Emperador Maximiliano, acordándose que las comonidades se quexaron que lo fuese Guillen de Croy. Dió al Emp^{or}
40 Carlos la gouernacion y administracion perpetua de los maestragos de Castl^a como á Rey de España, y quitó el tributo de Napoles para siempre, y hiço en su fauor otras cosas.

El cardenal Julio de Medices, que fue Papa tras Adriano, se nombra Clemente octauo, el qual continuaua la liga y guerra de Leon y Adriano contra el frances, aunque lo solicitaua mucho que no lo hiciese Alberto Pio, conde de Carpi, embaxador del Rey Francisco.

La pelea de Rupeco y la de Garlazgo, donde se mostró
50 bien el duque de Urbino contra los franceses, siendo gen^l Carlos de la Noy por muerte del Prospero Colona; tras las quales se voluió á França el Almirante, con vn braço quebrado de arcabuzazo.

Entierran viuos á Don N. de Cárdenas en Madrid, y en Nápoles á Don Fran^{co} Marradas.

Año de 1524

Fuenterabia se cobra de franceses á partido, que hicieron todo su poder por guardarla, en mar y en tierra.

La pobre muerte de Don Pedro de Ayala, conde de Saluatierra, por comunero en la carcel de Burgos, estando allí el Emperador; llevaronlo á enterrar los pies descuuiertos y con grillos.

La reparticion de las Indias y Nuevo Mundo, hecha en Badaxoz, entre cast^{os} y portugueses.

La conquista de Cuahute Mallan, que hiço P^o de Aluarado,
10 capitan de Fr^{do} Córtes.

Comiença de proposito la conuersion de los indios en México.

Vienen á Burgos emb^{es} del Sophi al Emperador contra el Turco.

Guerrea Carlos, duque de Sofolc, contra franceses en Picardia.

Cerca Juan Stuard, duque de Albania, con escoseses á Verchin, mas hace lo dexar á priesa Thomas Auard, yendo á el con ejército inglés.

Puebla Rodrigo de Bastidas á S^{ta} Martha.

20

Matan hazañosam^{ente} Fran^{co} de las Casas y Gil G^lz de Auila á Cristoual de Olid, en el Triumpho de la Cruz.

Casa el Rey Don Juan de Portugal, 3^o de este nombre, con la infanta de Castilla Doña Catalina, hermana del Emperador, en la qual huuo muchos hijos, y todos los vió muertos, y los syete jurados por sus herederos, caso de fortuna tan valeroso como notable.

Hechados ya de Italia los franceses, ua el duque de Borbon sobre Marsella por mandado del Emperador y del Rey de Inglaterra, con catorce piezas de artelleria, mil hombres de 30 á cauallo y 16000 de á pie, mas rezio que fue.

La brabossa pasada del Rey Fran^{co} á Italia tras el duque de Borbon, con veinte y dos mil peones y quatro mil de á cauallo, con que luego entró en Milan y cercó á Pauia.

Haçen las amistades del Rey Fran^{co} con el Papa y florentines el conde Alberto del Carpio y el datario Juan Matheo Giberto.

Enuia el Rey Fran^{co} al Duque de Albania sobre Nápoles, con X mil hombres á pie y seis cientos á cauallo, assi para deuertir los españoles de Lombardia, como para conquistar 40 aquel reyno.

Muere Fran^{co} de Garay, adelantado de Panuco, en México, el qual gouernando á Jamaica fué rico, y bien andante, y conquistando empobreció con desventura de los hijos.

Lleuanta guerra el duque de Gueldre en Olanda.

Mueue guerra el conde Fran^{co} de Haege al arçobispo de Treueris por cat^o.

Guerras en Alcayro, que se rebeló del Turco.

Muere Ismael Sophi, que tan conocido fue por el mundo assi por religion, como por armas, de cuya gloria Bayazet 50

tuuo pesar, y Selim enuidia; fué de los suyos muy querido, y por consiguiente llorado.

Año de 1525

La noble batalla de Pavia, en que fue preso el Rey Fran^{co} de Francia, peleando y herido, que fue loor suyo. La gloria de cuyo vencimiento lleuó el Marques de Pescara, Don Fran^{co} Fr^{do} de Aualos, coronel de los españoles, aunque las cabeças del exército imperial eran Carlos Lanoy y Carlos duque de Borbon. Lleuaron el prez de su prision el capitan Juanes de Hernani que lo detuuó, y Diego de Auila que le tomó el estoque y la manopla derecha, y Machin, hombre de armas de Don Vgo de Moncada.

- 10 Traen preso al Rey Fran^{co} á Hespaña el virrey de Nápoles, Carlos de la Noy, y el señor Alarcon, que lo tenia en guarda, la qual quitaua y ponía el alferes Garcia de Carabariantes de Gómara, soldado viejo y valiente, y que nunca juró á Dios.

Enteram^{to} en Granada del Rey Don Phelippe, al cabo de 20 años que la reyna se lo tenia consigo.

La nauegacion de Garçi Jofré de Loaysa á las molucas.

El trauaxosissimo camino que Cortes hiço de México á Higueras.

- 20 Alçamiento de los moriscos de Valencia de la sierra de Bernia, sobre que por fuerça los hauian hecho christianos.

La grandissima corte y caualleria que tuuo el Emp^{or} en Toledo, assi españoles como estrangeros, el gran maestre de Rodas Phelipe, con 40 comendadores, el cardenal Juan de Saluiati, legado del Papa, embaxadores de toda Italia, de Sophi, de Russia, y de todos los reyes christianos de Europa.

Da el Emperador á los caualleros de S. Juan la Isla de Malta y la del Gozo y á Tripol de Berberia, en que se asienten.

- El descubrimiento del Perú, tierras riquissimas de plata y 30 oro, por Fran^{co} Pizarro y su compaña.

Tratos del Papa y venecianos con el duque de Milan contra el Emperador por echar de Lombardia españoles.

Procura sobornar Jerónimo de Moron, consejero del Duque de Milan, al marques de Pescara con letras del Papa

y venecianos para que dexe al Emperador, prometiéndole el reyno de Nápoles, y la capitania general de Italia, mas el lo rehusa y descubre.

Trata Luisa de Saboya, madre del rey Fran^{co} y gouernadora de Francia, con el Papa y rey de Inglatierra y otros que hagan miedo al Emp^{or}, para que suelte á su hijo. 40

Da treguas el Emperador por seis meses á los françeses. Visita el Emp^{or} al rey Fran^{co} que adoleció por consolaçion.

Cerca el marques de Pescara al duque Fran^{co} Sffordia en el castillo de Milan, auiéndole tomado casi todo el estado por rebelde al Emperador, y por que trataua de mâtár á los españoles.

Muere Don Fran^{co} Fernando de Aualos, exçelentissimo capitan, teniendo cercado al duque de Milan, y continua el cerco An^{to} de Leyua con Don Alonso de Aualos, marques del Uasto. 50

Reuuelue Tomas Munçer á Saxonia, contra los señores y obispos, que le mataron seis mil luteranos en Enfrancnassen.

Comonidades de luteranos en Alemania, en que murieron á cuchillo cien mil hombres dentro de quatro meses.

Año de 1526

Suelta el Emperador al rey Fran^{co} sobre su juramento que hizo de guardar y cumplir lo que con el capitulaua, ó volver á la prision, so pena de fementido.

Los Cap^{os} del rey Francisco con el Emperador, hechos en Madrid á 14 de enero, fueron principalmente que dentro de mes y medio entregaria toda Borgoña como la poseyó el duque Carlos al Emperador, que renunciava y renunció á Nápoles, Milan, Aste, Genoua, que dexaua y dexó la soberania de Flandes y Artoys por Guyana Pontiers y Perona, que restetuyria á Hesdin y derivaria á Teruana, que no ayudaria á Enrique de la Brit, ni al duque Carlos de Gueldres, ni á Roberto de la Marca, ni al duque de Vitemberg, que volueria sus estados y haziendas al duque de Borbon, y á Philiberto de Chalon, Principe de Oranges, que se casaria con Doña Leonor reyna de Portugal, y hermana mayor del Emperador, y el Delfin Francisco su hijo con

Doña Maria, hija de la misma Doña Leonor ; que daría dos millones de oro al Emperador para los gastos de las guerras que mouió, y en rehenes, hasta pagar y cumplir lo capitulado, 20 á sus hijos *Francisco* y *Enrique*, que se suelten los prisioneros de entrambas partes, y se vueluan las mercaderías represadas. Firmaron con el Emperador estas capitulaciones Carlos de la Noy, Virrey de Nápoles, Don Hugo de Moncada prior de Messina, y el secretario Juan Lallemand, baron de Bouclans, y con el rey *Francisco*, el arçobispo de Ambrun Francisco de Turnon, Juan de Sebia, prezidente del parlamento de Paris, y Phelipe Chabot, señor de Brion, que tenian poderes bastantes de la gouernadora y del parlamento y del reyno.

30 Dixo Hernando de Vega, quando le preguntó el Emperador su parecer sobre la libertad del rey, que muy bien estaua en Madrid el rey de Francia, y el gran Chançiler Mercurino Gatinara que ó le soltase libre, ó le tuuiese firme.

Desposorio publicamente del rey Fran^{co} con Doña Leonor, en Illescas.

Cenan juntos en *Madrid*, que fué de uer, el Emperador y el rey *Francisco*.

La entrega de los Delfines, *Francisco* y *Enrique*, que fue ceremoniosa, la qual pasó de esta manera. Estaua vna 40 naue con seis marineros españoles y otros franceses en el traues de agua de Irun y Vanzo ; fueron á ella con vn batel por un cabo el rey *Francisco*, Carlos de la Noy, el señor Alarcon con ii caualleros españoles, y por otro cauo los Delfines, un hijo del almirante de Francia, y otros ii caualleros franceses. Entraron primero y á la par el Rey y el Delfin, luego el Virrey y el duque de Orleans, Alarcon tras ellos y el hijo del almirante, y despues todos los otros caualleros sendos á sendos. El Rey, auiendo estado vn rato con sus hijos, se fué á Francia con sus franceses y tocando 50 en tierra juró de nuevo los capitulos de Madrid, no cabiendo de gozo de verse libre. Los Delfines vinieron á España, y fueron entregados al condestable Don Iñigo de Velasco en Berlanga.

Las bodas bienaventuradas del emperador Carlos, y de

Doña Isabel infanta de Portugal celebradas en Seuilla, con gran solenidad y alegria. Truxeronla Don Fernando de Aragon, duque de Calabria, Don Antonio de Foncequa, Arçobispo de Toledo, y el duque de Béjar, Don Alvaro de Zúñiga. Desposólos el Cardenal Juan de Saluiati, legado *apostolico*, y velólos el Arçobispo de Seuilla, Don Alonso 60 Manrique.

La conuercion y bautismo de los moros de Aragon.

Conquista *Francisco* de Montejo á Yucatan.

Reuocan en Francia los capitulos que juró su Rey, diziendo que no era obligado á los cumplir, pues no los pudo hacer estando preso.

La grande liga en Angoulesma, causadora de infinitos males y muertes, del Papa Clemente, rey de Francia *Francisco*, Enrique rey de Inglaterra, Sigismundo rey de Polonia, el rey Jaques de Escocia, Señorío de Venecia, 70 *Francisco* Sforça duque de Milan, florentinos y otros, so color de librar al duque de Milan y á Italia de los spañoles, y por que no cumpla el rey *Francisco* lo que prometió en Madrid, y para escoger vn nuevo rey de Napoles, el qual fuese Juanin de Mediçes, y pagase al rey de Francia 70 M. escudos por año y 1 mil al duque *Francisco*. Auia de juntar para esto tal exército que lançase al Emperial de Italia, y mantenerlo, hasta auer lo lançado.

Enbia sus embaxadores el rey *Francisco* á dezir al Emperador estando en Granada, que nõ podia cumplir 80 nada de lo que prometió, pues Borgoña no podia ser enajenada de la corona real de Francia, y voluiendole sus hijos por vn precio razonable, que tomara su hermana por muger; donde no, que los entendia cobrar por guerra.

Fauorecen esta demanda los embaxadores de los aliados, diziendo a Su magestad que deszercase al duque de Milan, que sacase de Lombardia los españoles, que dexase á Nápoles, que no pasase á Italia con exército, y que pagase al rey de Inglaterra; sino que todos le harian la guerra, pues para esso se auian aliado. 90

Eran rezias las demandas y temerosa la guerra, por ser muchos y poderosos los confederados, empero no por esso

torció su brazo el Emperador ; sino que le respondió con su acostumbrada gravedad, que haria mal el rey christianissimo en no cumplir su palabra y juramento, que su reyno no le podia estoruar los capitulos de paz, pues le no estoruauan los de la guerra. Mayormente que los auia sauido y otorgado que deternia los rehenes hasta ser pagado, que no deuia dexar por ningun enojo su muger, que Francisco Sforza como duque de Milan era su vasallo feudatario, y lo podia y deuia castigar por rebelde y aleuoso, que no dexaria el á Nápoles pues era suyo por herencia, y por conzierto y buena guerra, y que á Italia yria como quisiese, y se guerra le hiciesen todos ellos, que de todos ellos se sabia defender con sus buenos y leales vasallos, llevando á Dios y á la razon delante, y que le pagaria al rey de Inglaterra con los dineros del Rey de Francia.

Despacha el Emperador á Borbon por su capitan general en Lombardia, no sin alguna esperança del ducado de Milan.

110 Toma el duque de Urbino con gente del Papa y venecianos a Lody.

Entrega Francisco Sforza el Castillo de Milan á Antonio de Leyua, y uase al exército del Papa.

Pone sitio á Milan, estando en el Antonio de Leyua, el gran exército de la liga, en el qual era capitan por el Papa Renzo de Cheri vrsino, de venecianos el duque de Urbino, y del rey de Francia Lautrec.

Da el Papa la decima de los beneficios al rey de Francia, para esta guerra.

120 El cardenal Pompeo Colona y Ascanio Colona y Don Hugo de Moncada saquean con dos mil hombres el palacio sacro de Roma, huyendo el Papa Clemente al castillo de Sant Angel, porque hiua contra el Emperador.

Haçe treguas el Papa con españoles y coloneses, dando rehenes por quatro meses.

Muere Juanin de Medices de vn mosquetaso, que le dieron alemanes del Emperador en Gereuolo cerca de Pesquera; era Juanin valiente, pero viciosísimo del mal pecado.

Enuia el Papa sobre Nápoles con flota á Vaudemont 130 por ser de Lorena y Anjoino, que haga guerra por mar al

Emperador, y da guerra traspasando las treguas á coloneses.

Vence Sigismundo rey de Polonia, que tenia 60 mil de a cauallo, al duque de Prusia.

Dieta de alemanes en Spira, donde tratandose de la guerra dixerón los embaxadores francezes que ayudaria su rey contra el Turco, si hiziesen al *Emperador* dexar las armas en Italia, y por ventura para la someter.

Vence Soliman en batalla de Mogico á 29 de Agosto con 200M. hombres al rey Luis de Vngria, que tenia 24M. solamente; mata y catiua ynumerablemente gente. Muere ahogado en vna laguna el rey Luis sin dexar hijos.

Competencias por el reyno de Vngria entre Don *Fernando* archiduque de Austria, y Juan Zapolia Vayuoda de Transsiluania.

Guerra de Sena sobre los desterrados.

Murió en Burselas Isauel reyna de Dinamarca, hermana del *Emperador*, dexando un hijo que se logró poco, y dos hijas, de las quales vna, que se llamó Dorotea, casó con Fadrique, conde Palatin elector, y otra, dicha Cristiana, con *Francisco* Sforça duque de Milan, y con el duque de Lorena despues.

Año de 1527

El alegre nacimiento de Don Phelipe, que al presente reyna, en Valladolid, á 21 del mes de Mayo.

Dexan el cerco de Milan Lautrec y sus compañeros por falta de dineros.

Hechase Borbon sobre Plazencia, por que contra las treguas fauorecia el Papa la liga y hacia guerra en Nápoles al *Emperador* y á coloneses, en Piperno y Fresalon.

Dexa el virrey Carlos de la Noy la guerra que hacia sin fruto en Fresalon, y toma treguas con el Papa en Roma por ocho meses, sin consejo de Borbon, ni Antonia de Leyua.

El saco de Roma y prision del Papa.

Muere Carlos de Montpensier, duque de Borbon, de vna arcabuzada que le dieron entrando en Roma; hiço aquella empresa de su caueça. No quiso estar por las treguas del

virrey, sino le daua el Papa cien mil ducados ó mas para pagar su exército, el qual era poco y sin artilleria.

Genoua por el Rey de Francia, que la deseaua mucho.

La armada de la liga va contra el Emperador á Cerdeña.

Enuia el Emperador, que le dolió mucho segun lo mostró
20 el saco de Roma, á Buire y á fray Francisco Ximenes, á soltar el Papa.

Pauiá dos vezes entrada por fuerça, vna de Lautrec, y otra de Antonio de Leiuá.

Refrescan sus amistades el rey de Francia y el de Inglaterra contra el Emperador en Amiens.

Guerras en Vngria, entre Fernando y Juan Vaiboda.

Llama turcos el Vayuoda, siendo Geronimo Lasco el truxaman, por lo que fue descomulgado del Papa Clemente.

Hechan de Florencia los ciudadanos á los Medices con
30 afrenta de los papas Leon y Clemente, que les costó su libertad.

Reuoltas en Alemania de lutheranos y catolicos.

Guerra entre polacos y moscouitas.

Grandes correrias de tartaros en Podalia y en Polonia.

Año de 1528

El desafio que por henero enuiaron al Emperador estando en Burgos el rey Francisco de Francia con su rey de armas Guiana, y el rey Enrrique de Inglaterra con Clarenzio, diziendo que soltando los Delfines por conueniente precio y pagándole su rescate al rey de Inglaterra, y no hablando mas en Borgoña, casarian el rey Francisco con la reyna Doña Leonor y el Delfin Francisco con Doña Maria su hija, *inffanta* de Portugal, y Enrrique duque de Vrliens con Maria, princesa de Gales; donde no, que casaria el rey
10 Francisco con la *princesa* de Gales, y le harian guerra entrambos de mancomun, por que suelte al Papa y dexe á Italia. Respuesta por escrito, aunque mas larga, del Emperador al rey de armas ingles con el secretario Juan Aleman, diziendo que se mostraua el rey Enrrique su enemigo con mas passion que razon, auiendo dexado su legitima muger como inobediente á la Iglesia, que no era

el causa de las guerras de turcos, ni de Cristianos como á tuerto ellos le leuantauan, sino defensor y contrastador, y tan poco era mouedor de las guerras, sino el rey Francisco, segun lo sauia muy bien el rey su amo, que declaró 20 por el cardenal Jort ser Francisco el acometedor tanto contra el vno, como contra el otro, por lo qual se declaró en Londres por su enemigo; que ya el antes de casarse con la emperatriz Doña Isauel pidió á la princesa de Gales, hija del rey Enrrique, el qual no compliendo los contratos de Wodossore se la negó por casarla con el rey Jacques de Escoçia su sobrino, á cuya causa el no era obligado á la pena de los 5000 escudos del capitulo matrimonial; y aun abrió entonçes las cartas y prendió al embaxador que se la pidió; que alen de la injuria fue desacato y que se guerra 30 queria, que guerra tenia. Respondió al rey de armas françes que su amo el rey Francisco era causa de todas guerras, pues començó por Milan, prendiendo al duque Maximiliano Sforza y haziendole renunciar su derecho, y no curando de auer inuistidura de aquel estado del emperador Maximiliano, cuyo era el feudo, y la souerania; que reuocó el rey Francisco los conciértos de Paris en los de Nayon, codiciando por yerno mas que por cuñado al rey de España, y assi hizo que prometiese de casarse con dos hijas suyas, vna recien nacida y otra por nacer; que ganoso 40 de guerras y rebueltas dió por ningunos los concierto de Nayon, quando en Burgos su embaxador Lussac le pedia rehenes del casamiento de Luysa, y del reyno de Nauarra, los quales no era obligado á dar, por estar declarado en aquellos mismos conziertos de Nayon; que tentó tomar á Nápoles y á Secilia, embiando al conde Pedro Nauarro con su flota so color de hir á Berberia; que dió gente y artelleria y dineros al conde Roberto de la Marca para la guerra que hizo en Flandes, y enuió al señor de Lesparre con exército á Nauarra, y aun á Castilla, y todo esto sin 50 auer el hecho gente quanto mas guerra; que no podia el rey negar, ni contradizir lo que prometiera por su libertad, auiendo sido especialmente preso en buena guerra, y suelto con honestos partidos, quanto mas que todo lo que se le

pedia era del *Emperador*, sino los Delfines, que ayna estauan por memoria, que por prenda; yten que fuera de todo esto le fue muy contrario en la elecion del Imperio; en las guerras del Turco, en las cosas de Italia, en los negocios de Luthero, y otros buenos propositos, y que ni
60 quiso sacar de Italia su exército como de nuevo se acordara en Palencia, ni restetuir a Genoua en su libertad, y que de la prision del Papa tenia mas culpa el Rey que no el, por auer hecho tan dañosa liga, empero que ya tenia cartas como estaua suelto y libre; que no queria el dexar á Italia para que la ocupe el Rey, y quanto al desafio que ningun catiuo podia desafiar á su señor, ni el suelto sobre su fe a nadie sin licencia del que le soltó; que se voluiese como lo juró y prometió y entonces abria sus hijos, y anduuiese despues la guerra.

70 Enuia el rey Francisco al emperador Carlos un cartel de desafio de persona á persona, y muy á la soldadesca, hecho en Paris á 28 de Março.

Toma el Emperador parecer sobre aqueste desafio con los Principes de su reyno, y denuncia guerra para batalla campal al rey Francisco, estando en Nayon con el Prouoste de Vtreque.

Acomete á Lodi Antonio de Leyua, donde le fue mal.

Empeña el Emperador á Veniçuela de Indias á los Velseros, mercaderes alemanes.

80 Aluaro de Saauedra Ceron, capitan de Cortes, nauega de la Nueva España á la especeria de los malucos.

Fernando Cortes ha el titulo de marques del Valle de Huaxacac.

La vitoria que huuo Antonio Leyua de Francisco de Borbon conde de Sampol en Landriano.

Cerca Lautrech á Nápoles con exército de la liga, que seria de mas de 25 mil combatientes, aunque ponen otros 40 M.

La batalla de mar, en que Phelipin de Oria venció á Don
90 Hugo de Moncada.

El destroço del exército de la liga, muriendo Lautrec dicho el Combatidor de Ciudades, con que descansó Italia.

Viene Andrea Doria al *servicio* del Emperador, que mucho escozió al rey de Francia y aún tambien al Papa. Genoua es libre á deuocion del Emperador, con quien ha uiuido en paz y enrriquesido sobradamente despues acá.

Pierde por guerra su estado el duque Carlos de Geldres.

Phelipe, Lantgraue de Hassia, da tras los obispos con mano armada.

Treguas por ocho meses hechas en Cambray, por Luisa, ¹⁰⁰ madre del rey Francisco, y por Margarita, tia del Emperador, consertando que ambos dishiziesen sus exércitos, que fue principio de paz.

Guerras de Soliman en Tauris con el Sophi Tambia.

Agostin Justiniano, que fué obispo de Nebro, acaua su historia, que algunos la llaman de bestiones.

Año de 1529

Pueblan en Malta los caualleros de Rodhas.

Es mas robo que guerra lo que hacen venecianos y franceses con los del Papa en Pulla y en Calabria.

Empeño de la especiaría, que hiço el Emperador al rey de Portugal Don Juan el 3º, por 350.000 scudos.

Concordia del Emperador con el Papa, tratada en Viterbo por Juan Muxetulo napolitano, y declarada en Barselona por Jeronimo, obispo de Basione, con que siendo coronado Emperador, meta los Mediçes en Florencia, y de aquel estado con Margarita, su hija natural, á Alexandro de Medices. ¹⁰

Paz entre Carlos Emperador y Francisco rey de Francia, concludida por las mismas señoras al tenor de la de Madrid, saluo en tres ó quatro cosas, y la principal que no se ablase mas en Borgoña, que fuese pagado el rey de Inglaterra con los dineros del rey de Francia, que sacase de Italia el Rey toda su gente de guerra, y que no platicase mas con Italianos ni tanpoco con alemanes contra el Emperador.

Passa el Emperador á Italia, con gran flota.

La batalla de mar en que murió Rodrigo de Portuondo.

Confirma en Placencia de Lombardia la paz de Cambray, ²⁰ por el rey Francisco, Guillen Gouffier, almirante de Francia,

cirtificando al Emperador que no podia ser mayor bien para el Rey su señor que dexar á Italia.

La ponposa entrada del Emperador en Bolonia.

El cerco de Florencia, que duró bien once meses, y que costó al Papa Clemente vn milon de oro.

Muere Juan de Vrbina, que fué natural de Verberana, grande, membrudo, grossero, mas de claro entendimiento, liberal, limosnero, deuoto, nunca juraua, y assi castigó
30 mucho las blasfemias, era en fin virtuoso sino jugara demasiado. Que matar, herir y aprouecharse del enemigo y de sus bienes la guerra y vida soldadesca lo lleuan ; fue de consejo, tuuo grandes ardidés, nunca mostró miedo, aunque Jouio dize auersele conocido en Genoua, quando el saco, mas era por el artilleria y no por los hombres. Passó pues Juan de Vrbina con el gran capitan á Italia por soldado, dió siempre señales de valiente, por lo qual fue vno de los tres *que* hicieron campo con otros tantos italianos estando nuestro exército sobre Rosano, por quales seruian á mayor
40 rey ; aceptaron el desafio los capitanes Diego de Quiñones y Luis de Viacampo, tomando á Juan de Vrbina ; empero el, *que* se conocia, no les quiso ayudar sin destajar primero con los contrarios *que* fuesse ayuda compaño ; assi que combatieron á pie con las armas *que* á cada vno plugo sin arcabuz, *que* sossacaron de condicion los italianos, y como todos eran valientes, pelearon bien. Rindió Juan de Vrbina á su enemigo, y quitandole las armas acorrió al Quiñones, *que* desjarretado, y la rodilla en tierra, combatia marauillosamente, y rendió tambien aquel aduersario ; ayudó á Via-
50 campo á vencer al tercero. Quedó el Vrbina desde alli por el mejor soldado de Italia, mas como se acabó luego la guerra de Nápoles, no pudo subir. Fuesse á Roma, y assentó por alabardero, con Diego Garcia de Paredes, Juan de Bargas, Pizarro, Çamudio, y Villalua, *que* todos fueron despues mui conocidos por la guerra, aun capeauan entonces y tenian muger de seguida. Hiço gente á la saçon el Papa Julio á uno *que* se rebelaua. Fue en ella por alferéz de Diego Garcia de Paredes, y despues contra el duque de Vrbina, en fin que fue capitan en Boloña, quando los fran-

ceses la ganaron, y en la batalla de Rauena, donde quedó 60 entre muertos desgraciado. Hallóse tambien en la de Vincencia, y en todas las guerras de Lombardia contra franceses. Quando çercó Lautrec á Milan con exército de la liga era Juan de Urbina maestro de campo, y saliendo á escaramuça vna vez con los enemigos á San Columban, pasó el solo por donde cinco ytalianos acuchillauan vn español, el qual conociendo le dixo, ha, señor Juan de Urbina, que me matan; el qual, como se oyó nombrar, fue a socorerle que no quisiera. Los cinco italianos boluieron las caras á el, abiendo derribado al español; apretauanlo, mas luego aflozaron por 70 ir los dos al caido, que se levantó, y assi mató los dos de tres con quien combatia, y con la partesana del vno hiço huir los otros, que matando al soldado temieron de morir. Cogió las armas para muestra del vencimiento y voluió á Milan, herido en los pechos de la partesana, y con una cuchillada en la mexilla, y otra pequeña en la mano de la espada, y tan ensangrentado *que* no le conocian; escapó de buena, y assi solia dezir ser en qualquier transe importantissimo llamar á vno por su propio nombre. Animó los soldados á entrar en Roma muerto Borbon; demandando 80 paga los soldados que se amotinaron en Nola quando se recogian de Nápoles por Lautrec, cortó el braço al capitan Calçedo delante del marques del Basto su coronel, por que le asacaua el motin, que fué atreuimiento, aunque no tubiese culpa. Hiço algunas azañas en el cerco de Nápoles, y á las uезes, topando con Pedro Nauarro uiniendo á cercar á Florencia, fue muerto sobre Ispello con arcabus, cuya pelota le pasó la pierna por deuaxo de la rodilla. Llevaronle á enterrar á Nápoles á nuestra Señora de Pie de Gruta y en sepultura de bronce, la qual despues desiço el virrey Don 90 Pedro de Toledo para artelleria. El Emperrador, que lo deseó uer, le hiço comendador de Liche, alcaide de Obo y de Abersa y marques de Oira, mas gozó lo poco. Fuera enfin Juan de Urbina sino por la muger muy dichoso, y honrrado, empero el se bengó muy bien, matandola con quantas cosas alló uiuas en su casa.

Cerca en bano Soliman á Viena con ciento y cinquenta

mil hombres, aunque unos cuentan docientos y cinquenta mil, y otros quinientos mil; estaua dentro Phelipe, duque de Bauiera, y tenia españoles. Aunque no la pudo ganar, se lleuó segun dicen setenta mil cautibos de Vngria.

Año de 1530

La coronacion de Carlos V Emperador, echa en Boloña por el Papa Clemente VIII, dia de Sant Matias, por auer nacido en el, y con el mayor fausto y costa, y especialmente de caualleros españoles, que jamas Emperador se coronó.

Da obediencia el Preste Juan Daud al Papa, como á cabeça de la Iglesia de Jesu Christo.

Libertad de los Delfines, entregandolos el condestable Don Pedro *Fernandez* de Velasco, y monsiur de Praet, principal persona con el Emperador, al cardenal *Francisco* de Tournon y á Ana de Montmorency, mayordomo mayor entonces del rey *Francisco*.

El casamiento del rey *Francisco* con la reyna Doña Leonor por mano del cardenal Tournon en vna abadía, cerca de Bayona.

Yelanse las viñas en toda castilla por abril.

Tiene dieta el Emperador en Augusta sobre la religion principalmente, y sobre la guerra del Turco que venia poderosísimo.

Muere Margarita, muger que fué del Principe Don Juan.

20 Toma la gouernacion de Flandes Maria, reyna de Vngria. Florencia pierde su libertad, entrando dentro los Medices.

La guerra que hace *Francisco Sforza*, duque de Milan, á Juan Jacobo de Medezis, que despues fué marques de Marnan y capitan mui excelente.

Da el Emperador á *Francisco Sforza*, para que aya paz en Italia, el ducado de Milan por 900.000 escudos que auia gastado en la guerra.

Recibe por amigos el Emperador á los venecianos; dura la amistad hasta oy.

30 Combate a Buda Guillen Rocandolfo, capitan del rey Don Fernando, que tenia cerca de 30 M. hombres y buen

golpe de españoles, que regia Don Luis de la Cueva ; mas empero defendieronla el Vayuoda y Leusgrite.

Tregua por un año entre los reyes de Vngria Don Fernando y Juan Vayuoda, con boluntad del gran Turco que fauorecia el partido del Vayuoda.

Este año ó cerca de el se alló en Canaria una ballena muerta, que tenia 16 arrobas de ambar, y se uió un triton barbado y viejo, según escriuió el obispo fray Al^o de Devirnes á *García* Vechoa en Valladolid.

40

Año de 1531

Don Fernando, rey de Vngria, es creado Rey de Romanos.

Alexandro de Medices hecho duque de Florençia con preuilegio del Emperador.

Reduze así el Papa Clemente á Ancona, que uiuia como *republica* sin verter sangre.

El grandissimo teremoto de Lx^a, y luego mortandad.

Juan Vayuoda y Luis Griti cercan Astrigonia, y hacen correrias los turcos hasta Viena.

Rompe y sobrepuja la mar, mas que nunca se uió, los balladores que llaman diques de Holanda, Zelanda y Flandes, 10 que fué gran daño.

Manda el rey Francisco de Francia que ninguno uenda trigo, sino es en plaça, por que barate.

Guerra ciuil entre cantones sobre lutherianias, en que huuo 5 peleas.

Un hombre presentado al Papa Clemente, que no comia en quince dias, ni aún en veinte, cosa marauillosa y que nos espantaua, sino era engaño, tanto puede la costumbre ; y assi dixo el Papa como acauó la guerra de Florencia que le costó mucho, que de tales era bueno vn ejército. En 20 Moral, aldea de Maderuelo, ay un labrador rico que nunca comió carne teniendo ganado, ni biuió vino, ni se puso calzas, ni caperuça. Vi tambien este año en Roma un hombre, que con los pies cosia, cortaua, y enhilaua vna aguja, escreuia, y cerraua cartas con nema, contaba y cogia dineros, jugaua dados, y hincaua uña ; en fin sus pies eran manos por gentileza para ganar la uida por allí.

Funda Francisco Pizaro á S. Miguel el de Tangauoxa, que fué la *primera* poblacion de españoles en el Perú.

Año de 1532

Llega sobre Viena el gran Turco Soliman, con el mayor ejército de *nuestros* años, ni que ningun otomano tuuo, sabiendo como el Emperador estaua en Alemania; trayó trecientos mil combatientes y mas de cien mil a caualllo, bien 120 tiros grandes. Otros ponen docientos, y otros quinientos, y Pedro Mexia 600.000, que deuia ser en toda suerte de gentes.

Entró en Belgrado Soliman para lucir su aparato, bestida vna aljuba de carmesi bordada de oro con punhal y simi-
10 tarra de precio excesiuo, y en un caualllo vayo ricamente guarnicido; benian tras el los visires Cassim y Arpas, y Abraym Basa su priuado, y luego doce mil cortesanos, y de officio en su casa y corte. Auian entrado delante quatro mil de á caualllo con el estandarte, donde hiua pintado Mahoma, y quatro mil janizaros de su guardia, 150 sclauos con lanças y casacas de rasso y azul, y encordonadas de plata, cinquenta carretas cubiertas de bruno, con cada quatro caualllos en que hiuan el thesoro y recamara, y algunas damas hermosas y queridas del. Espanaciel de Maçedonia les
20 guardaua con quatro mil de caualllo, duzcientos caualllos regalados en diestro, cien pages de camara en gentilles caualllos con casacas de tela de oro, y sombreros de carmesí guarnecidos de oro y plata y plumas blancas, los doce con zeladas bordadas de ricas piedras y perlas, vna de las quales valia 140 M. escudos, mil lacayos con casaquetas de raso azul, y bordaduras de plata y escofias de oro con plumas blancas, que lleuauan arco y carcax, y los 100 perros de traulla y aues de caza.

Juntó el Emperador 120 M. soldados y mas de 30 M. de
30 caualllo á su costa, y del Rey su hermano, y del Papa Clemente, que fué sin duda el mayor ejército christiano de *nuestros* dias, y no quiso luteranos porque no inficionasen los catholicos ó no ayudasen al Turco. Auia 12 M. españoles

con el marques del Basto, y Antonio de Leiva era el gran consejero de la guerra.

Afrentosa retirada del gran Turco, los senseros, como dicen, atapados, dexando perdidos 60 M. hombres, y quebrando las puentes de miedo que no le siguiesen, y quando el Emperador llegó á Viena estava ya el quarenta leguas de allí. Dixerón que no esperó batalla por auiso y consejo 40 de christianos sus amigos.

La valerosa resistencia *que* hizo en Gunt Nicolysa Jurischizo, á treçe combates que le dió en 20 dias Abraham Bassa con turcos y janizaros.

No quiso el christianissimo rey Francisco ayudar contra el Turco, que perdió gran reputacion, aunque dixo que por no ser el capitan general.

La guerra de Coron en Grecia, que hizo Andrea de Oria por el Emperador.

La prision de Atabaliba en Coxamalca, riquissimo rey del 50 Cusco, y assi dió por su rescate mas de dos millones.

Don Pedro de Toledo, marques de Villafranca, hecho virrey de Nápoles por muerte del cardenal Pompeyo Colona que finó, auiendo comido berbas en nueve.

Prenden los de Dinamarca sobre seguro y juramento á su rey Christiano, que fué con ejército y flota, que le dió el emperador.

Juntanse los reyes Francisco y Enrique á negocios en Boloña primero, y luego en Cales.

Año de 1533

Confederacion de nuevo, que llamaron defensiua, hecha en Bolonia entre Papa, Emperador, Rey de Romanos, duque de Milan, Ferrara y Florencia, señorias de Venecia, Genoua, Sena y Luca por año y medio, señalando por su capitan al señor Antonio de Leyua, el qual morase en Milan.

Saca el Emperador la fuerça de los españoles de Italia, que hizo mucho por el bien de la paz, y assi otorgó por ruegos lo *que* no quiso por fieros, tan altiuo fue.

Muere Garcia de Paredes en Boloña, que no tuuo par en fuerça y en esfuerço. Estuuó soldado en la Chefalonia con 10

el gran capitán; tuuo despues en su tierra diferencias y cuchilladas con Ruy Sanchias de Vargas, por las quales se fué á Roma, y asentó por alabardero del Papa Julio 2º, con Juan de Urbina, Juan de Bargas, Pizarro, Çamudio, y Villalua, que todos fueron como entonces llamauan coroneles, aunque trayan alli uida ayrada. Fue de los once *que* combatieron en Trana por desafio los otros tantos franceses, y que rendió á su contrario. Tirando un dia la barra lo desafió vn cauallero romano á cien escudos. Garcia Paredes tiró
20 mucho la barra, y dixo al Romano que tirase por gentileça; pues el tenia que apostar, respondió que no era su honrra; entonces el desmentiólo, y mató con la barra sinco hombres, por lo qual se puso en armas toda Roma; y con aquello se huuo de acoger al cardenal Don Bernardino de Caruajal su primo, el qual no solamente lo libró de aquello, empero lo hiço capitán de la infanteria de los que Julio embiaua contra Monteflascon, que se le rebeló. Lleuó á la guerra por alferes á Juan de Urbina, y por sargento á su hermano Aluaro de Paredes, y por cabos de esquadras á Billalua,
30 Pizarro y Çamudio. Fué causa de tomarse luego aquel lugar, rompiendo la puerta. Estando en la guerra contra el duque de Ferrara apellido España en vna escaramuça y uenció, por la qual palabra le culpó de traydor el capitán Cesar Romano; el lo desmentió y en campo le mató, por lo qual le mandó prender el Papa. Soltóse matando dos sentinelas y fuese al duque, el qual, sauida su valentia, le dió la compañía de vn capitán *que* poco antes el matava, y hiço con ella buenas cosas. Fue capitán en la Rauena, tras la qual huuo un recuento con los franceses, yendo por Fano, en que
40 perdió 200 soldados, matando 600 enemigos. Lleuandole preso quatro contrarios y assido se arrojó al rio con ellos en vna puente rasa; el salió á nado y ellos se ahogaron. Conbatió en campo cerrado con el coronel Palomino, por que dixo que auia perdido mas honrra que ganado con los franceses, y en calzas y camisa con sendas espadas, y teniendo el por padrino á Perucho de Garro, y aunque reciuió huna buena cuchillada cortó la mano derecha al Palomino, y teniendolo para matar lo dió al Prospero Colona, juez del

campo. Niega despues el Palomino ser vençido y que tornaria sobre aquello á combatir. Dixo Garcia de Paredes ⁵⁰ que tornase como salió; él entonces arojó la mano que le curaua, que fué tambien hecho animoso, mas no pelearon. Huuo luego un desafio con *licencia* de sus reyes con doçe franceses á doçe españoles, que fueron Diego Garcia de Paredes, Villalua, Pizarro, Aldana, Sanctacruz, Juan de Aro, Juan de Gomado, Albarado, dos *capitanes* de hombres de armas, y dos italianos. Vencieron los españoles, matando el dicho Garcia dos franceses hermanos. Un hermano de aquellos capitanes quiso matarse con el por ello armas iguales. Garcia de Paredes escogió como desafiado salir ⁶⁰ armados de punta en blanco, con porras y espadas. El françes, no pudiendo alsar la porra que pesaua mucho, aremetió con la espada, pensando que tanpoco pudiera su contrario, y dióle vna estocada por la escaropela que lo hirió; Garcia entonces le dió vna porrada que le vndió en los sesos el almete, de que murió. Venció luego dentro de dos meses otros tres desafios, con amigos y enemigos, que todos los balientes querian prouar con el sus fuerças, y assi tomó once campos en estacada, y todos los venció, lo qual ningun otro ha hecho en *nuestros* años. Dicen tambien que ⁷⁰ tratando algunos caualleros en la sala del rey que no daua buena quenta de los dineros el gran capitan, que Garcia puso vn guante sobre la mesa, y dixo que se mataria con quien lo alçase, se dixese que no era el gran capitan el mejor criado *que* tenia el rey Catholico. Fué coronel de once banderas, en ganar á Nauarra, y quando lo de Fuentarabia y Bearnia, y Sarauel. Quando hiua el Emperador á Plasencia desde Genoua amagó al conde Nasau, que por mandado del Emperador consertaua la gente, y lo queria hechar del esquadron de los caualleros, como no iba armado ⁸⁰ de lo que abia menester; se quexó el conde, pero su Magestad le dixo que el era Diego Garcia de Paredes, que sin armas aria mas que otro con ellas. En Çoria descalabró un rufian con un banco, y echó en el fuego á otro, y á dos mugeres de seguida, que la vna murió, y á otros dos bulderos, por que se burlauan del, que pedian la cocina de

sus criados para vn cauallero. Estando en una benta quando voluia de la guerra del Turco sobre Vienna, lo quisieron echar de ella otros muchos, y el defendió la posada iriendo 90 y aun matando algunos de ellos. Era pues Diego Garcia hombre alto, de gran cara, de mas huesos que carne, comedor ; solia dormir con la muger la espada desenbainada en la cama por los enemigos y pependencias que tenia ; dieronle yerbas o echiços, por donde se recelaba comer algunas cosas, y aun salia fuera de si muchas bezes, por lo qual no subió á mayores cargos.

Buelta del Emperador á España con gran honrra y *vitoria*.

Trata el Rey Francisco contra el Emperador con alemanes, 100 principalmente Vlríc duque de Vitember, quebrando lo capitulado.

Ordena el rey Francisco aunque no permanecen siete legiones de soldados en siete porbincias de França, que son mas de II. XX mil.

Nace Isabel princesa de Gales, y hija del rey Enrrique de Inglaterra y de Ana de Bolena.

Vistas del Papa con el rey Francisco y con la reyna Doña Leonor, en Marsella, por casar á Catalina de Medices, su sobrina, con el duque de Orliens Enrrique, hijo de Francisco, 110 que hoy son reyes de Francia, y pensando auer á Milan, que ya tambien estaba inclinado con el Emperador, por que juzgó por el duque Alonso de Ferara el pleito de Modena y Reco. Entonces dixo el Rey al Papa que no queria paz, ni concilio, sino le dauan á Milan, y que no solo no estorbaria, sino que procuraria la benida del Turco.

Guerrean turcos en Persia con su daño.

Prenden los de Dinamarca á su Rey Christierno, y muere su hijo.

Año de 1534

Las Cortes de Madrid de entre otras cosas uedan las mulas de silla por que aya mas caballos para la guerra ; guardóse tanto algunos años que ciertas mulas pagaron la pena por justicia en Valladolid y en otras ciudades. Tambien

los bedaron los Reyes Catholicos 40 años antes, y lo guardaron mientras la Reyna uiuió, conforme á vna ley de partida que manda cabalgar en caualllo los caualleros por honrra y vso.

Conquista y puebla en Quito Sebastian de Bel Alcazar, tiniente de Francisco Piçaro, el qual fue despues adelantado 10 de Popayan, auiendo sido arriero, y que por no poder pagar algunos asnos se fuera á las Indias, cosa del mundo que llaman bentura.

Hace guerra Phelipe Lantgraue de Asia con dineros del rey Francisco al Rey de Romanos don Fernando.

Muere Clemente Papa Clemente 7º, baron de animo sincillo, y que solia decir que se gouernaua el mundo con poco çeso, palabra de tanta consideracion como esperiençia; era escaso y bengativo contra los del bando contrario y ansi los destruió enseñoreandose de su patria, aunque 20 tambien lo hiço de ambicioso. Enobleció grandemente su linaje de Medices, ya de suyo magnifico, aciendo vn sobrino duque de Florencia, y vna sobrina reyna de Francia; tubo pero muchas aduersidades, ca fué muy desnorado de florentines. Uió á Roma dos beses saqueada y estuuu preso.

Elecion del Papa Paulo 3º natural de Roma sin escudrinar botos.

Haradin Barbaroxa rey de Tunez. Muere como merecia Luis Griti medio turco. 30

Muere Alonso de Este duque de Ferrara, que tuuo gran fama de buen hombre de guerra, el qual se supo conseruar, aunque para ello mudó amistades con los principes, que se lo atribuyeron á mal.

El rey Enrique 8 se llama cabeça de la Iglesia de Inglaterra, tomando todas las rentas y diezmos.

Liga smalcaldica de luteranos y catholicos, que mouió Lantgraue.

Una gran batalla, y tras ella buena paz, entre sofianos y tartaros. 40

Entra bitorioso Soliman en Babilonia.

Una gran matança y despego *que* de turcos hiço Delmi-

antes, capitan de Tanbraso, *que* ya tenia españoles y artilleria.

Año de 1535

La guerra de turcos que hiço el Emperador.

Visita el Emperador sus reynos de Scicilia y Nápoles.

La fundacion de Lima, que llaman ciudad de los reyes.

La entrada de Diego de Almagro al Chile con egército.

Muere Don Íñigo Lopez de Mendoça y Çúñiga, cardenal rico y obispo de Burgos, que dexó un colegio en aquella ciudad.

Vieronse reynas hermanas Leonor y Maria, en Cambray.

La guerra del Papa Paulo en Perugia.

- 10 Muere Francisco Sforça, duque de Milán, que fué un exemplo de buena y mala fortuna, en quien se acauó el señorio y linage de los Sforças y viscondes.

Queda Milan por el Emperador.

- Muere Doña Catalina, reyna de Inglaterra, muger singular, empero desbenturada. Casó con dos hermanos por dispensacion del Papa Julio; pasó mala vida con el suegro, que por casar con su madre le daua por onças de comer, y peor con el marido segundo, que por casarse con su criada la desechó. Fué muy hermosa y así trauajó el rey Enrrique
20 octauo de aberla por muger. Murió contenta por dexar tan excelente hija como es la reyna Maria nuestra señora.

Trata el Papa contra turcos con todos los principes christianos y no acaua nada con el rey Francisco, por que pide á Nápoles y á Milan.

Toma el rey Francisco la mitad de los beneficios en Francia, haziendo que era para cobrar á Milan, pues era muerto el Duque.

- Escriue á los alemanes en comun el rey Francisco, echando maliziosamente la culpa de las heregias de luteranos y
30 guerras de turcos al Emperador y al Rey de Romanos su hermano, y diciendo que trataua paz vniuersal para toda la Christiandad con el gran Turco.

Entra por Saboya con exército Phelipe Caboto, diciendo que luego mostraria el derecho que tenia el rey Francisco su señor al estado.

Guerra del rey Sigismundo de Polonia contra el rey Basilio de Moscouia.

Mata Soliman gran Turco á su muy querido Abraham, *que* puede ser exemplo de priuados. Dicen que jamas criado priuó tanto con su *señor* asi en guerra como en paz ⁴⁰ y en autoridad, como en gracia. Causó se tanto la mucha riqueza quanto la mucha priuança, y assi el, que sabio era, solia rogar á Soliman no le diese tanto mando, ni tantos cargos y hacienda, diciendo que no deuen hacer los Reyes en vno, ni dar lo que toman ó piden á muchos. Era desde niño Abraham renegado, y vino á ser Vizerbassa, *que* no puede dar mas el Turco.

Publica G^{co} Hernandez de Ouiedo la *primera parte* de la historia gen^l y natural de Indias, que fué bien receuida.

Hacen gran daño los rebautizados, empero bien lo pagan. ⁵⁰

Anda recia guerra en Dinamarca y en Inglaterra, sobre la religion.

Año de 1536

Pide al Emperador con gran ahinco el Rey Francisco á Milan para Carlos su hijo 3^o.

Despoja el almirante Phelipe *Caboto* al duque Carlos de Sauoya de todo su estado.

Entra el Emperador con grandissimo recibimiento en Roma, donde, auiendo negociado el consilio, abló publicamente al Papa y cardenales, y otros prelados y embaxadores, contra el rey Francisco por causador y mouedor de todas las guerras, y lo desafió de su persona, por que no huuiese otra guerra. ¹⁰

Respondió el rey Francisco á las claras raçones del Emperador escura y flacamente, y en quanto al combate *que* sus espadas eran cortas, estando ellos tan apartados.

Camina el Emperador por Francia llevando XLIIII. soldados y los once mil españoles sin otra mucha caualleria, y mas la flota por mar, mas poco empeçe por la mortandad de la gente, y por otras dificultades, *que* trae la guerra consigo; murió tambien mucha bestia de moscas. Aquí y en lo de Tunes, se sintió haçer prouecho el beuer agua fria, aunque tuuiesen camaras. ²⁰

Muere *Antonio* de Leyua en Aix de Francia *que* porfió aquella entrada con no uanas razones, y por *que* le dixerón vnos adeuinos y astrologos *que* se auian de sepultar en San Dionis, mas fué en el de Milan, y no en el de Paris. Pasó á Italia por teniente de la compañía de hombres de armas de su tío Sancho Martinez de Leiua, que fué mayordomo del Emperador, con Luis Puerto Carrero, señor de Palma, quando lleuó socorro al gran capitán á Napoles. Dió muestra en aquella guerra de franceses de lo *que* despues fué, y mas
30 en la de Lombardia, quando los lançó dende Leon Papa. Cobró fama en Pauia, donde le sercó el rey de Francia Francisco el año *que* fué preso, y encumbró en Milan, quando hiço rendir al duque Francisco Sforza y se defendió de Lautrec, y ganó y sostuvo aquel ducado. Fué á Viena al tiempo *que* la sercó el Turco, llamado por el Emperador, y se queria regir allí por su seso. Escogieronlo por su Capitan el Papa, el Emperador y venecianos y los de la liga ofensiuia *que* se hiço en Bolonia, por el mejor que auia en Italia. Fué gouernador en Milan tras la muerte del duque Francisco
40 Sforza; entró en Francia como consejero mayor de aquella guerra, donde murió de dolores en todas sus conjunturas. Fué siempre buen capitán y nunca parecia ser vencido, siendo muchas veces, y algunas en andas *que* fué mas, ca, por ser gafo de pierna y manos, no caualgaua en cauallo. Marauillauanse todos por donde iua, oyendo *que* assí tollido fuese tan baliente excelentissimo capitán. Llamaronle por Ex^a el Señor, no se le quitando el Emperador, que fué honrrado renombre, aunque lo començaron á llamar assí por no tener los principios ni título ni officio prehiniente. Huuo por sus
50 virtudes y seruicios el Principado de Asculi y Amonsa con otras cosas; fué muy rico y assí dexó á Doña Costanca su hija, *que* casó con Don Francisco de la Cueva, marques de Cuellar, casi cien mil escudos, que fué el primer gran dote sin mayorazgo de nuestros tiempos en España. Fuera ciertamente *Antonio* de Leyua de comparar con los grandes capitanes antiguos, si carecia de vicios, ca fué aspero, cruel, codizioso y agorero, como lo deue contar Jacobo de Valgrana, que, segun entiendo, escriuió su vida; empero la

rosa de las espinas sale, y por milagro ay gran virtud sin vicio. 60

Tienta el conde Guido Dangou de thomar á Genoua por el rey de França con diez mil hombres de apie y 2 M. de á cauallo.

Combate á Perona Enrrique conde de Nasau, marques de Senet, camarero del Emperador, con exército de siete mil de cauallo y 20 M. peones.

Cerca Mangoinga con 100 M. indios al Cusco, donde auia 150 españoles.

La sagrada guerra *que* mouieron algunos de Inglaterra contra el Rey sobre religion, que les costó caro. 70

Recibe gran daño el Turco del Sophi, en la guerra *que* le hiço.

Ha en Roma titulo de coronista el doctor Juan Gines de Sepulueda.

Año de 1537

Mata Lorenço de Medices aleuosamente á su primo Alexandro, duque de Florencia, diziendo *que* por tirano; el qual despues fué muerto en destiero y pobreza, y el Turco no lo quiso escuchar.

Guerras en Piamonte de françeses con españoles, siendo gouernador de Milan Don Antonio de Auallos marques de Vasto, *que* fueron muchas.

Van a las guerras de Piamonte el Delfin Enrrique, y luego el rey Francisco su padre.

Gana el conde de Nasau Montraul, y cerca á Treuana 10 con mas de 30000 hombres y 6 M. de á cauallo.

Toma el rey Francisco á Esdin, lleuando 3000 peones y 7000 de acauallo.

Treguas por diez meses en Flandes, que fueron principio de paz, hechas por la reyna Doña Leonor y Madalena, hermana del rey Francisco, con Maria, reyna de Vngria, y gobernadora de Flandes.

Prueua Soliman de ganar la Isla de Corfu á venecianos, sus amigos.

Año de 1538

Junta del Papa en Nisa, del Emperador en V^a franca, y del rey Francisco en V^a nueua, que todo es cerca; no se vieron todos tres en uno, de lo qual se corria el Papa, ni concluyeron paces, sino treguas para diez años, *que fué harto*.

Vista del Emperador y del rey Francisco en Aguas Muertas, comiendo juntos con la reyna D. Leonor y otras señoras y caualleros, *que fue gran cosa, segun los enojos, guerras y desafios que hauian pasado*.

Vedan en Francia las tarjas de los banquillos, moneda
10 Biarnesa, y luego en Castilla.

La batalla ciuil *que* venció Hernando Pizarro contra Rodrigo Ordoñez.

La inuidiosa muerte de Diego de Almagro por los Pizarros.

Puebla Peranzures la Plata, villa riquissima de minas en el Perú.

La famosa pelea de la Preuesa entre las flotas christiana y turca, *que* fueron las mayores *que* se an juntado en *nuestros* años.

20 Queda el reyno de Frisa por el Emperador, muriendo el duque Carlos de Egmont de Geldres.

Guerras del rey don Fernando con turcos.

Son amigos el rey Don Fernando y el Vaiuoda Juan, con que tambien se llame el rey de Hungria, mas empero *que* en muriendo sea todo del Fernando.

Vistas en Cambrai del rey Francisco con la reyna Maria.

Casamiento de Octauio Fanes con Margarita, hija del Emperador, *que* fue muger de Alexandre duque de Florencia.

Continuan la guerra los turcos en Grecia con venecianos.

30 Cerca Soliman Bassa el Capado á Dio, ciudad de portuguezes al rio Indo, con galeras *que* passó de este mar al otro *que* llaman Bermejo por tierra, empero o la ganó.

Año de 1539

La perdida de Castil Nouo con muchos españoles.

La triste muerte de la Emperatriz doña Isabel nuestra

Señora, muger de gran bondad, y qual dicen deue ser casada. Parió muchos hijos, empero no dexó uiuos sino á Don Phelipe *nuestro Señor* el rey, y á Doña Maria, reyna *que* agora es de Bohemia con Maximiliano, y á Doña Juana, que muy moça embiudó del mal logrado principe de Portugal. Los otros murieron niños.

Las nombradas Cortes de Toledo.

Rebellion de Gante, caueça de Flandes.

10

Pasa el Emperador á castigar á Gante por medio de Francia, de lo qual todos quedaron atonitos por sauer las cosas pasadas entre su Mag^d y el rey Francisco, y considerando tambien la confiança del vno, y seguridad del otro.

El casamiento de Doña Leonor de Toledo, hija de Don Pedro de Toledo, virrey de Napoles, con el duque de Florencia, Cosmo de Medices, *que* fué Principal.

Ha el titulo de choronista Florian del Campo, el qual començó desde Noe la *historia general* de España; tendrá grande trabajo en acabarla, mas contentará las gentes si 20 cumple lo prometido.

Año de 1540

Castiga el Emperador á los de Gante.

Entran turcos en Gibraltar, *que* alteró la Baerra.

La batalla de Arboran en agua de turcos con españoles, que venció Don Bernardino de *Mendoça*.

Guerra del papa Paulo con Ascanio Colona.

Ofrece dar el Emperador su hija Maria con los estados de Flandes á Luis duque de Orliens por hacer paz verdadera, pero rehuzalo el rey Francisco su *padre*, queriendo á Milan, causa de todas guerras, y que, segun el dezia, era cosa *que* mas en su vida deseó.

10

Tratan de amistad el Emperador y el rey Enrrique de Inglaterra, que muy reñidos estauan.

Deshaze la orden de San Juan el rey Enrrique de Inglaterra, *que* fué gran quebra para los caualleros.

Guerra en Transilvania entre Juan Vajuoda rey y Esteuan Maylat, que se apoderaua de aquella Prouincia.

La demostracion de consiertos que tuuieron contra el

Turco el nuncio del Papa, y don Alonso de Avalos, marques del Vasto, y Claudio Henebaut, g^{or} de Turia.

20 Dan venecianos al Turco por *que* haga pazes con ellos á Nápoles y á Maluaçia y mas de cien mil escudos en dinero, tanto la deseauan, aun *que* cargaron la culpa de ello al rey Francisco, *que* auisó de los negocios en Constantinopla.

Muere Fernando de Alarcon, que fue muy honrrado capitan español. Era natural de Villaverde y noble; fué capitan de ginetes en la toma de Granada, y en la Cefalonia con el gran capitan; en Irach, quando se començó la guerra de Nápoles con franceses, fué herido de arcabuz; fué m^e del campo general contra venecianos en Brinde, Monopoli,
30 Trana, y otros lugares. En la de Rauena, era Maestre de Campo y comisario general; allí fue tambien herido y preso; don Ramon lo hiço soltar quando metió en Milan al duque Maximiliano Sforza. Pasó á pacificar á Scicilia por coronel de los españoles, quando hecharon de la Isla al virrey Don Hugo de Moncada; tuuo cargo del exército de Milan por çedula del Emperador, estando malo Prospero Colona, *quando* fue destroçado el Almirante de Francia; y por que Alarcon ganó alli á franceses muchas pieças de artilleria las trae por orla de sus armas. En la ba-
40 talla que fué preso el rey Francisco, rompió la pared del parque de Pauia por do los *nuestros* entraron. Entregaronle al rey Francisco en guarda por hombre de confiança, y venido con el á España, le hiço el Emperador marques de Val Sciciliana, que fuera de Camilo Pardo Anguino. Fué á Francia con el virrey Carlos de la Noy, á sauer del rey Francisco para *que* se alçaua con tantos sin cumplir *primeramente* lo capitulado con el Emperador. Tuuo tambien la guarda del Papa Clemente despues de rendido hasta que fué suelto, y entre tanto se resistió cueradamente á los
50 alemanes, *que* por sus pagas insistian de auer el Papa en poder, y aun les sacó, por vna cheminea de la casa *que* hiço el cardenal de S. Jorge, los rehenes de la paga, *que* fué causa de salirse todos ellos de Roma. Muerto Lautrech y decercado Nápoles huuo de mr^d á Tenda con otros lugares *que* tambien es marquesado, y la tenencia del Castil Nuevo

de Nápoles, que vacó por muerte de Luis Castro. Estando el Emperador sobre Lagoleta enuió por el para la guerra que aprouechó mucho, no auiendo quien mejor sentase un real ni traçase las thrincheas. Fué llamado el *Señor* como *Antonio* de Leyua por mayor honrra y cortesia. Era callado, 60 mas tenia buenos dichos y agudos, templado de manos, que no quiso tomar del rey *Francisco* vna baxilla de plata en França, ni del Papa dos capellos y treynta mil escudos. Viuió enfin *virtuosamente*, que no es poco entre soldados. Murió muy viejo y en gran estima, de dolor de costado, teniendo muchos nietos de vna sola hija, *que* casó con Don P^o G^lz de Mendoça. Saca su historia en frances Juan Bonchel, que trata verdad sin mostrar passion como los otros franceses.

Año de 1541

Matan soldados españoles á Cesar Fregoso y á Hernando Rinçon tan secreta como esforçadamente, yendo el rio Po abaxo á tratar contra el Emperador, el vno á Benencia, y el otro á Costantinopla por el de Francia. Era Rinçon de Medina del Campo, y hombre que valió mucho por deseruicios *que* hauia hecho á su rey, y*por tratar con el Turco por el rey *Francisco* contra christianos.

Matan tambien en Lima los almagritos á *Francisco* Pizarro que ganó el Perú, reino riquissimo, prendiendo al rey Atabaliba. El rey *Francisco* se confedera con Guillen 10 duque de Cleues contra el Emperador, y con los reyes Gustauo de Suecia y Christiano de Dinamarca.

Disputan en Spira, teniendo allí dieta el Emperador, Julio Flug, Juan Groper, y Juan Ecclesio, doctores catholicos, con Phelipe Melanton, Martin Buser, Juan Pistor, doctores lutheranos, que se llamauan protestantes.

Muere Juan Vaivoda Rey, dexando su hijo Esteuan encomendado al Turco, so la tutoria de fray Jorge de Croacia, obispo de Varadin, y de Diego Viguio, y de otros criados suyos.

20

Mueue guerra el rey Don Fernando por hauer todo el reino de Vngria conforme á la capitulacion del Vaiuoda, que le costó caro.

El Papa y el Emperador se ablan en Luca por conçertar el consilio para el año siguiente y sobre pazes con el rey de Francia, las quales no se hicieron, por *que* pedia el ducado de Milan *para* su hijo Carlos.

Viene á Vngria Soliman amenazando al Rey de Romanos y á los alemanes, y toma contra su fee á Buda, lançando
30 fuera el niño Esteuan y á su madre Isauel de Aragon, *que* lo llamaron.

Pide á Soliman el rey Don Fernando, *que* tenia Juan Vaiuoda con su tributo, pero el negandolo, le demanda el resto de Vngria, y parece sobre Austria.

La guerra de Argel, *que* hiço el Emperador tan desdichadamente como Diego de Vera y Hugo de Moncada.

Año de 1542

Quexandosse mucho el rey Francisco por las muertes de Hernando Rinçon y de Cesar Fregoso, y pidiendo á Milan, da guerra por muchas *partes* al Emperador. Continua la de Piamonte, enuia por Artoys á Antonio de Borbon, por Barbante á Martin Van Rossen, con ayuda del duque de Cleues, por Luxembourg á su hijo Carlos, duque de Orliens, y por Cataluña sobre Perpiñan al Delfin Henrrique; haçe tambien asonada por Nauarra y procura turcos.

Ay grande buliçio de armas en toda España para socorer
10 á Perpiñan, empero no fue menester.

Da el Emperador licencia de andar en mula para los hombres de armas que perdieron los suyos en Argel.

La rigurosa visita del Consejo de Indias, por la qual hecharon fuera dos oydores, de quatro que auia.

La batalla y vitoria de Chupaz, que huuo el lez^{do} Cristoual Vaca de Castro con D. Diego de Almagro, 16 de Oct^o.

Castiga el Emperador á los *que* ponen pazquines en Valladolid, por infamadores.

Enuia sus nauios á la Speciaria Don Antonio de Men-
20 doça, virrey de la Nueva España.

Salen las ordenanças de Indias, *que* alteraron la gente.

Renato, P^o de Oranges, entra por el estado de Cleues, haziendo daño con el exército imperial.

Dieta de alemanes en Espira, el *Emperador* ausente, donde se mostraron los embaxadores del rey de Francia muy fauorables á luteranos y á turcos.

Publicación del Consilio para Trento, que tanto se deseaua.

Guerra entre ingleses y escoseses por tierra y mar.

Muere Jaques, Rey de Scotia, *que* no fué bien querido de ³⁰ los suyos.

Carga con poderissimo ejército sobre Poyt el marques Joachim de Brandenburg por el Rey de Romanos, mas fué sin fruto.

Tienta de tomar á Turin Cesar de Nápoles por austucia.

Roba Beltran de Saquia de Vdene á Maran, lugar del rey de romanos.

El duque Juan Fadrique de Saxonia y Phelipe Langraue de Hesse desposseen al duque de Brunsweych.

Anda langosta muy dañosa en España y en otras partes ⁴⁰ de Europa.

Año de 1543

Amistad del *Emperador* con el*rey Enrrique de Inglaterra, que la tuuo á mal el Papa por ser como erege, desemulado que truxese Turcos al rey Fernando.

Hace g^{or} de estos reynos el *Emperador* á su hijo Don Phelipe, dando los negocios al secretario Francisco de los Couos, y la guerra al duque de Alua, Don Francisco Aluares de Toledo.

Hecha el *Emperador* en Castilla gran seruizio hordinario y extraordinario.

Pasa el *Emperador* á Italia para las guerras de Alemaña ¹⁰ y Francia en 57 galeras y mas de 40 naos, con V.M. soldados de Perpnan; hiuan con el el duque de Nájera, el Marques de Aguilar, el Conde de Feria, Juan de Vega y otros caualleros.

Da en Pauia el *Emperador* al duque Cosmo de Medices las fortaleças de Florencia y Liorno por ciento y cinquenta mil escudos, y aunque por dineros agradó mucho a Italia.

Junta del Papa y del *Emperador*, la qual me place de

contar por que se conosca donde llegó la presuncion del
20 S^{to}. P^a., que viniendo á dar color al consilio y á tratar de
paz según el publicaua, aunque principalmente venia para
conprar Milan, se tanteó con el Emperador, que rehusaua
su habla, diciendo que no le tenia deuer con gente de guerra,
sin el tener otra tanta, y algunos maliciosos lo echarian á
que traya muchos dineros. Asi que sobre conçierto, despues
de muchas demandas, se vieron en Buseto, lugar de dos
señores, con cada D. soldados y sus guardas de pie y de
cauallo, que los vnos guardauan la vna puerta y los otros la
otra del Cast^o donde posaron entrambos. Hablaronse tres
30 veces sin las primeras uistas en cinco dias que allí estu-
uieron, las dos yendo el Emperador al Papa, y la otra yendo
el al Emperador.

Presentanse al Consilio en Trento por todos los obispados
españoles Gp^{ar} de Aualos Arçobispo de Santiago, Don
Francisco de Mendoça, obispo de Jaen, y Don Martin de
Guerrea, obispo de Huesca, delante el Cardenal Moron,
obispo de Modena y legado del Papa.

Hechan fama en Alemania como era muerto el Empera-
dor los que le quisieran biuo, para leuantar la gente.

40 Toma el Emperador á Dura lugar fortissimo, que atemo-
riçó aquellas tierras, creyendo que los españoles tenyan
vñas como gatos, para subir por la cerca, y dientes de grifo
con que despedaçauan las gentes. Lleva sin su corte 16 M.
españoles, mil cauallos ligeros de Italia, y hasta dos mil y
quinientos hombres de armas.

Perdona el Emperador al duque Guillen de Cleves, cuya
era Dura, que se le uino á humillar á Venlo, tomandole
solamente á Gueldres que suyo era. El Duque besó la
mano al Emperador á fuero de Castilla, que fué, segun
50 pienso, el primer alemán que se la besasse.

Reciue tambien á Martin Van Rossen, Seneschal de
Gueldres, á su seruicio.

El cerco de Landresi por los imperiales, que poco antes
tomaron franceses, y que gentilmente socorrió entonces el
rey Francisco, auiendo tomado primero á Luxembourg.

Asonada de batalla del rey Francisco, para huir en

Chasteau Cambresis, queriendola el Emperador muy de veras, y aun escreuió á Francia é Italia *que* le huya, diciendo *que* lo auia de seguir hasta el cabo del mundo.

Tenia el Rey 10 M de cauallo y mas de C M de á pie, si ⁶⁰ fueron buenos soldados, en 6 M gascones, 12 M suizos, 2 M italianos y 84 mil franceses. Tenia el Emperador 9 M de acauallo, los M. D. ligeros, y quarenta y ocho mil peones; los 6 M eran españoles, los 7 M. ingleses y M. italianos. Quiero contar como pasó aquello, para que todos sepan la determinación de cada vno de ellos. Tuuo de pelear sobre auer pasado los desafios *que* ya diximos, y estar tan juntos. Llegó pues el Emperador á su Real jueues, dias de todos santos, y salió el sabado todo armado, sino la caueça por ser conocido, en vn cauallo encubertado, y conzertó el exér- ⁷⁰ cito, animando cada nación en su lengua; y como siete cientos alemanes baxos de cauallo, que se adelantauan, peleauan con *parte* de la caualleria francesa, y los hespañoles, que se alargaron en dos hasta llegar á las trincheas, preguntauan de mano en mano á Don Fernando de Gonzaga si entrarian, el qual en mal punto dixo *que* no, se puso el yelmo diciendo al esquadron de su corte *que* auia venido su dia; por esso *que* peleasen como caualleros honrrados, y si viesen caydos su cauallo y estandarte que lleuaua Luis Mendes Quixada, que leuantasen primero el pendon *que* ⁸⁰ á él. Caló la visera y tomó la lança y caminó passo ante passo hacia los enemigos. Era poco menos de media dia, esperó quatro horas quedo en vn lugar *que* saliese á la batalla el rey como lo blasonaua, y como no salió aunque lo atrayan y procurauan los españoles pegados al Real, y tambien por oscureçer la tarde, asentó Real, tocando á recoger á un quarto de legua del Real del rey. El domingo se pasó en consejos y en algunas escaramuças. Quando el lunes amaneció no auia franceses y assi no huuo batalla.

El rey Francisco, segun despues se supo de los que se ⁹⁰ prendieron en el seguimiento, tuuo miedo de perderse como en Pauia, quando vió tantos españoles cabe sus trincheas, ca le auian certificado *que* no eran mas de tres mil, y dixo *que* bastaua para su honrra auer socorrido á Landrasi, para

lo qual vino á vista de los enemigos, y enuiando á las quatro del domingo en la tarde su artelleria gruesa, hiço quitar los zenzerros y cascaueles de los caualllos que la tirauan, y aun dió á un carretero por que haçia roydo con el açote, tan callando le cumplia. Y se tomó las llaues de Cambresi por

130 *que* ninguno saliese con auiso de su partida y salió á las nueue con solos trecientos de acauallo. El Delfin se partió con el exército á media noche sin son y antes *que* amaneciese, acauó toda la gente de arrancar y no es de callar *que* no pasando mas de tres mil españoles en la reseña binieron quatro mil á la batalla, *que* tal es su condicion; los quales mormuraron de Don Fernando su general, por *que* no los dexó combatir el Real frances, y cierto que los franceses estauan medrosos, y los alemanes mudauan ya las bandas negras en coloradas.

- 110 Guerra en Berberia del conde Alcaudete Martin de Cordoa con Hamet rey de Tremeçen, que otros nombrauan Manat.

Passa Blasco Nuñes Vela por virrey al Perú lleuando chanceleria.

- Casamiento alegre del principe Don Phelippe con Doña Maria Infanta de Portugal en Salamanca. Fueron sus padrinos el duque de Alva y su muger. Fueron á Badajoz por ella el obispo de Cartajena Juan Martines Silicio, maestre del principe, y Don Juan Alonzo de Guzman, duque de
- 120 Medina Sidonia, *que* lleuó consigo á su hermano, Don Pedro Giron de Guzman conde de Oliuares, y al conde de Niebla, Don Juan Carlos su hijo, y á Fernando Arias de Saavedra, conde del Castellar, y á Don Manuel Ponce de Leon, Conde de Baylen, y á otros principales caualleros de Seuilla.

Continuan sus guerras en el Piamonte los españoles y franceses.

- Mulei Hamida se alça con Tunes contra su p^e Muley Hazan, que auia venido á Italia por ablar con el Emperador;
- 130 y quando voluió con exército de Napolitanos, lo prendió y lo çegó con hierro ardiendo, y aun tambien á sus hermanos, Nahazar y Abdala.

Pone treguas Amida con Don Francisco de Touar, alcaide y capitan de la goleta.

Inuierna en Francia Barbarroxa con la flota del Turco, auiendo primero batido á Niza con franceses.

Viene Soliman á Vngria brabeando, con cien mil de acauallo y 60 M peones y quarenta mil gastadores, empero no hiço mas de tomar Astrigonia y otros lugares.

Escruiue desde aqui el coronista Bi^{do} Busto su historia, el ¹⁴⁰ qual ha siempre andado despues acá con el Emperador.

Año de 1544

La dieta en Espira donde se hallaron todos los electores con el Emperador, que aconteçe pocas vezes, en lo qual otorgó su Mag^d algunas cosas á luteranos, fuera pero de la fee *que* lo tuuo por mal el Papa. Allí se declararon los alemanes contra el Rey de Francia, que sin duda lo escozió.

Toma Don Fernando de Gonzaga á Luxembourg, teniendo 3 M. de acauallo y 30 M de á pie, los ocho mil españoles, los quales lleuó por mar Vasco de Acuña, que valió por la guerra siendo buen soldado y buen capitan.

Entra el Emperador con aquel exército hasta Chalon, que ¹⁰ puso miedo á Paris y á toda la Francia.

La batalla de Cereçola por socorrer á Carignan, *que* perdió con mas de 60 banderas el Marques del Vasto, teniendo tantos como Francisco de Borbon, Conde de Anguien, capitan de franceses.

Enuia el Rey Francisco pensando ganar á Milán tras la vitoria de Cereçola á P^o Storzi al Piamonte, el qual fué luego desbaratado sobre Carignan.

Pax entre el Emperador y el Rey Francisco que mouió Gabriel de Guzman, frayle domenico y estudiante en Pariz, ²⁰ por lo qual le dió el rey vna abadía en Lanpon. Alauaronla Granuela y Don Fernando de Gonzaga, y el almirante Henebaut Carlos de Neili y el secretario Gilberto Bayardo, en la qual fué lo principal que dentro de un año el Emperador diese al Duque Carlos de Orliens el Duquado de Milan ó con la Infanta Doña Maria, su hija mayor, ó con alguna

hija del Rey de Romanos, con tal que Sauoya fuese restetuyda al Duque.

Va Juan de Vega embaxador en Roma por acompañado
30 del Marques del Vasto á Milan, que refrenó los francezes.

Prende á Basca de Castro el virrey Blasco Nuñez Vela.

Lleua la Reyna de Francia Doña Leonor á su antenado, el Duque Carlos de Orliens, como yerno del Emperador á Bruselas.

Ganan ingleses á Edemburg en Scozia.

Gana por fuerça el Rey de Inglaterra Enrrique octauo á Bolonia de Picardia con españoles, *que* lo sintió mucho el frances.

En este año cerró su historia Paulo Jouio, que se fuera
40 tan sincillo como curioso, auia escritto bien ; y aun con todo esso es grande esturiador de los errores, sin las malicias que de las cosas de *nuestra* tierra y hombres tiene se puede haçer grande numero.

Muere Renato de Chaylon, Principe de Orange.

Año de 1545

Nace Don Carlos Inffante de Castilla en Valladolid, á ocho de Julio.

Muere la Princesa Doña Maria, de mal curada en su parto á lo que se publicó.

Muere Juan Tauera, clérigo de gran autoridad, *que* fué prezidente del Consejo Real, y cardenal, y arçobispo de Toledo, Inquisidor general y g^{or}. Era tan honesto *que* no se dexaua ver los pies quando descalçauan los pajes, y grande negociador de callada, y tan hecho á la Corte que
10 no se allaua fuera. Dexó vn gentil hospital y rico en Toledo, y hazienda muy grande á su sobrino Anaspardo y otros parientes, que por sêr de la Iglesia sonó mal ; y siendo tan rico murió sin tener cuchara de plata con *que* tomar vna granada al tiempo *que* penaua, exemplo de vitoperio para los clérigos.

Muere assi mismo Jerónimo Suares de Seuilla obispo de Badaxos, uña como dicen y carne del arçobispo Tauera, official agudo del Rey en corte, y *que* tambien afrentó la

clerecia, por dexar al pie de cien mil escudos, siendo muy escaso y dexandolos al maestro de P^o Juan Martines Silicio, ²⁰ obispo de Cartagena, *que* despues fué arçobispo de Toledo, el qual tambien murió el mas rico prelado cardenal de *nuestros* años, *que* tanto fué mas de culpar quantos mayores deseos mostraua.

Muere Gaspar de Aualos, cardenal y arçobispo de Santiago, y Sebastian Ramires obispo de Cuenca y prezidente de Valladolid.

Muere fray Antonio Gueuara, obispo de Mondoñedo, y estoriador que escreuió mas cosas *que* buenas ni que bien, como en parte lo mostró el Bachiler Pedro de Ruami, ³⁰ maestro.

Muere Don Juan de Çúñiga ayo del P^o, *que* fué comendador mayor de Castilla, del qual tuuo el Emperador mui gran crédito.

Muere Don Juan de Silua Conde de Cifuentes, mayor-domo mayor de la Emperatriz, *que* fué embaxador de Roma.

Muere tambien el Doctor Miguel May, vicechanciller de Aragon, *que* fué muchos años embaxador en Roma, hombre docto y afable.

40

Mueren Don Garcia Manrique, Conde de Osorio, Presidente del Consejo de Ordenes, Don Aluaro de Cordoua, caualleriço mayor del Principe y su fauorecido, y Doña Ines Porto Carreró, muger de gran nombre.

Muere Carlos de Orliens, *que* aun pesó al Emperador no le vino mal, y hiçole las honrras como á Duque de Milán.

Muere Blasco Nuñes Vela virrey del Perú, en la batalla *que* huvo cerca de Quito con Gonçalo Pizarro.

Prueua el Rey Francisco de cobrar á Bolona por fuerça, mas no puede, *que* la tenian fuerte y bien guardada los ⁵⁰ ingleses.

Vales mal á franceses á Scocia, siendo su capitan Borgio.

Pelean por mar con ingleses los franceses siendo capitan de los naos el Almirante Claudio Henebaut, y de las galeras Leon Strossi Prior de Capua.

Año de 1546

Tiene dieta el Emperador en Ratisbona sobre las heregias luteranas donde, por que no apareçieron, priuó de ser elector á Juan Fadrique, Duque de Saxonia, y de las tierras á Phelippe Lantgraue de Hassia, hombre soberbio y que, presumiendo de guerra, despresiaua q^{tos} auia.

Mueue guerra el Emperador contra los de la liga Smalcaldica que todos eran luteranos, y principalmente contra el Duque de Saxonia y Lantgraue, como rebeldes y tiranos, para lo qual juntó X mil de cauallo sin los de su
10 casa y corte y XIV mil de pie, con dos mil açadoneros, de los quales pagaua XII mil el Papa. Fué Capitán general del exército Don Fernan Aluarez de Toledo, Duque de Alua, y capitan del artelleria Juan Jacobo Medecin, Marques de Marignan, y maestre general del campo el Marques Juan Bautista Castaldo, y comisario general Francisco Duarte. Fueron capitanes principales de la caualleria el Archiduque Maximiliano, Pheliberto Emanuel, Principe de Piamonte, Wolfango Melquague, Maestro de Prussia, Don Carlos de Lanoy, Principe de Salmona, el Marques Alberto de
20 Brandenbourg, Enrique Duque de Brunsuycq, y otros. Eran ocho mil españoles con los maestros de campo Don Alvaro de Sande, Alonso Viuas, y Diego de Arze, y diez mil Italianos con el Duque Octauio Farnez, y onze mil valones con Maximiliano conde de Bura, y diseseis mil tudescos con muchos coroneles y ochenta tiros.

El exercito *que* luteranos hicieron fue de 15 mil hombres de cauallo y de ochenta mil peones, con seis mil açadoneros y CXX tiros grandes de bronze y DCCC carros de pelotas y póluara y otros aparejos, ocho mil rozines para carretar
30 el artelleria y municiones, y CCC barcas de hazer de puentes. Eran los capitanes el Duque Juan Fadrique, *que* pensaua ser Emperador, y Lantgraue, que prometia de hechar el Emperador de toda Alemania, y Sebastian Xertel, que fué alabardero del Emperador. Siendo pues tales los exércitos de ambas partes, y tan artellados y proueidos qual jamas en Alemaña se vieron, deshizo el Emperador sus contrarios ani-

mosa y prudentemente, como lo mostró en Ingolstad quando, jugando ahito en su caualleria el artelleria de los enemigos, estuuu quedo y firme, que sin duda fue vençer. Aunque le enuió á dezir el Duque de Alua *que* se quitase de aquel ⁴⁰ peligro, *que* cierto era grande y manifesto, respondió que si se quitasse causaria miedo en los suyos.

Muere Martin Luthero casi arrebatadamente, auiendo çenado aquella noche de regosijo con otros muchos alemanes en Isleb donde nació. Del qual, por ser el peor hombre de nuestros años, es bien poner su uida, para *que* se guarden de sus heregias. Era pues Luthero maestro en artes, metióse frayle Agostino de los hermitaños, por espanto y miedo de vn rayo. Tenia gota coral, aunque muchos frayles le tenian por endemoniado, y algunos dezian que ⁵⁰ tenia familiar, y aun el mismo dezia *que* hablaua y conocia muy bien al diablo. Fue procurador de algunos Monasterios de su orden por hombre rezio y pleitista, y voluiendo de alla, començó á leer y disputar con nueua manera *que* cobró gran fama. Succedió en esto *que* para la fabbrica de San Pedro de Roma enuió el Papa Leon indulgençias por Alemaña, y sobre si las predicarian los frayles agostinos, ó los dominicos, començó á contradisirlas, y luego el año de 1517 á escriuir mal de ellas y del Papa, y de ellas hechar cuernos, por *que* no las encomendauan á los de su orden, en ⁶⁰ lo qual se conoçe claramente su malicia y odio. Encendióse luego tanto en las competencias, disputas, y contradicciones de Juan Tertsel, frayle domenico gran perdicador, *que* vino delante á caer en grandes heregias, dando á otros muchos ocasion de ser peores hereges *que* no el, como decir, á Juan Oecolampadio, Vlrico Zuinglio, Tomas Munstero y Miguel Reues español, *que* puso lengua en la santissima trinidad, y que los hereges lo quemaron en Basilea por herege, y Daud Jorge holandes, *que* viue agora en Frizia, y *que* cierto es el peor, de suerte *que* ni Ario ni Mahoma ⁷⁰ fueron tan malos como el. El qual, alen de las heregias, era parlero, mentiroso, maldisiente, reboltoso, atreuido, profiado, vanaglorioso, descortes, disimulador, chocarrero, borracho, y en fin la mesma vellaqueria, ca ni tuuo ni enseñó virtud

ninguna. Ganó la voluntad del pueblo con dezir mal de la nobleza, y la de los pobres con hablar peor de los ricos, y la de todos con deshazer la religion, abatiendo al Papa, y la de las mugeres con desalabar la virginidad, y assi por dar exemplo á monjas y á frayles y aun á clerigos se casó
80 con vna monja, en la qual uuo muchos hijos, siendo de LIII años; viuió pues tan mal hombre LXIII, y herege los XXX.

El Papa haze Duque de Plasencia á Pier Luis Farnes su hijo.

Va el L^{do} Pedro Gasca por Presedente al Perú.

Vale muy caro en toda España.

Escruiue la justificación de la conquista de Indias el doctor Sepulueda, y contradizela fray Bartolome de las Casas, obispo de Chiappa, sobre lo qual huuo despues muchas disputas y
90 consultas.

Guerras de Tremezen, ayudando á vnos Azan Barbaroxa, y á otros el conde de Alcaudete.

Muere Don Alonso de Aualos, Marques del Vasto, gouernador de Milan y Capitan general del Emperador en Lombardia, siendo de cuarenta años; era muy gentil hombre, vestia riquamente, tratauase de gran señor, y en liberalidades fue franco. Era diestro en armas, y entendia bien la guerra, mas no fué venturoso en ella, y assi perdió la batalla de Cereçola; era tambien muy humano, muy cortes, y en fin
100 tenia muchas virtudes y grandes, y por ellas muy amado.

Don Fernando Gonzaga vino por gouernador de Milan desde Scicilia, donde fue muchos años virrey.

Juan de Vega, Embaxador en Roma, ua por virrey á Scicilia, en la qual residió x años y luego vino á ser presidente del Consejo Real de Castilla con grande authoridad y reputacion.

Pazes hechas entre Francisco Rey de Francia y Enrique Rey de Inglatierra, con *que* pagando el Rey Francisco cierta cantidad de dineros dentro de ocho meses, huuiese
110 á Boloña de Picardia.

Muere Haradin Barbaroxa en Pera.

Año de 1547

El Emperador haviendo ya deshecho el ejército de luteranos, toma el Estado de Vitemberg, aunque luego le bolvió al Duque, y á Vlma, Augusta, Francofort, Argentina y otras ciudades de la liga y rebelion.

Cobra por armas el Duque Juan Fadrique lo *que* le tomara poco antes el Duque Mauricio, y aun ganale casi todo su estado.

Traman los bohemios de llamar al Duque Juan Fadrique de Saxonia contra el Rey de Romanos, haziendo su capitán al Conde Gaspar Fluch con XL mil hombres de guerra. 10

Prende el Duque Fadrique en vn encuentro al Marques Alberto de Brandenbourg, y á Christoual Lantgraue de Lechtenberg, tomándoles X banderas y XII piezas de artilleria.

Pestelencia en Saxonia y en los exercitos.

Passa el Emperador su ejército por Albis *que* los de su riuera llaman Elb contra voluntad de sus consejeros, mostrando el vado vn molinero, aunque algunos passaron á nado con sus cauallos, y ciertos españoles nadando con las espadas en la boca, siendo frio tiempo; y tanto fué mas ánimo 20 passarlo, quanto nunca los Romanos osaron passarlo, en especial que no lleuaua arriua dies y seis mil hombres.

Vence y prende tambien el Emperador, yendo con el su hermano el Rey de Romanos, al Duque Juan Fadrique de Saxonia en batalla con pocas muertes de los suyos, *que* fué gran felicidad.

Andaua el Duque en vn cauallo bayo oscuro, y armado de vn jaco de malla menuda, y encima vn coselete blanco y negro *que* parecia bien. Era muy gordo en demasia, empero diligente y sauió en la guerra, aunque se tuuo entonces 30 descuidadamente. Murieronse menos de dos mil saxones, y tomaronse nueue estandartes de la caualleria y XVII banderas y XV tiros y DC carros de municiones y ropa.

El cerco de Boemia por los del Emperador.

Viene rendido Phelippe Lantgraue de Hesse á someterse

al Emperador, *que* para su Mag^d fué grande reputacion y para el, *que* tanto presumia, dolor y uileza.

Da el Emperador la eleçion del Imperio al Duque Mauricio.

40 Gana el Emperador en estas guerras de luteranos quatrocientas y quarenta pieças de artelleria entre grandes y pequeñas, buena *parte* de las quales enuió á España.

Vence Fernando Rey de Romanos á los Boemios y haze lo *que* quiere de todos ellos y de sus armas, preuilegios y franquezas, siendo su Rey por eleçion, y aun les tomó bien mas de duzientos mil escudos de renta en solo Praga.

La batalla entre Pucaran y Guarina en la qual venció Gonçalo Pizarro á Hernando Centeno.

Murió Enrique Rey de Inglaterra en edad de sessenta años, 50 el qual fue muy dotado de los bienes de la fortuna y del cuerpo y del alma, si los enpleara bien, ca era muy hermoso, rico, y sabio. Casó con Doña Catalina, muger tambien hermosa, hija de los Reyes Catholicos, y que auia sido casada con su hermano Artus, alcanzando victoria de sus enemigos personalmente quando ganó á Terouana del Rey Luis de Francia, y á Bolonia del Rey Francisco, y por sus capitanes quando venció la flota escosesa el Conde de Surri, Tomas Hauard, y quando el Conde mismo mató al Rey Jaques de Escosia en batalla. Fauoreció al Papa Julio contra el Rey 60 Luis de Francia y al Papa Clemente quando su prision en odio del Emperador, escreuió contra Lutero el libro de sacramentos, por el qual le dió titulo de defensor de la fée por consistorio el Papa Leon. Hasta aqui fué muy excelente Rey, aunque mudó amistades, empero *que* despues mudó muger y religion, fue maluado. Dexó á la Reyna Doña Cathalina, por casarse con Ana Bolena su amiga y criada, con quien mucho se deleitaua, á la qual degolló dende á tres años por adultera con Jorge Bolena su proprio hermano, con quien ella dormia por auer algun hijo varon y con otros 70 dos caualleros. Tomó muger luego á otro dia que ella fué degollada, á Juana Semeria, en la qual huuo Duarte *que* murió Rey. En muriendo la Juana enuió á Cleues por Ana, hermana del Duque Guillen, á la qual dexó tambien luego

por fria, y *que* no satisfacía su luxuria, y no tardó á casarse con Catalina Hauard su sobrina ni á degollarla esso mismo por adulterio con dos caualleros, y casóse sesta vez con Catalina Paria, viuda siendo de L. años, tanta era su luxuria ó su locura. Empero assi era menester *que* ya estaua ciego de entendimiento para *que* pagasse por donde pecaua. Començó á sentir mal del Papa *que* le tachó el repudio 80 primero; burlando de las descomuniones y dispensaciones y encruzeziendosse cada día mas en aquel error, se llamó soberano de la Iglesia ingleza, aplicando a su fisco las rentas ecclesiasticas, que fue quitar al Papa la obediencia, sobre lo qual mató tres frayles cartuxos, y al cardenal Juan Fisquer obispo de Rocestre, y á Tomas Moro *que* fuera su gran cañiller. Mató assi mismo sobre seguro á ciertos caualleros, capitanes de los *que* se lleuataron por la santa fee christiana; robó las Iglesias, despobló los monasterios, deshizo la orden de San Juan de Rhodas, hechó los cuerpos santos en el rio, 90 y quitó finalmente la fée y religion de Jesus Christo en todo su reyno.

Muere Francisco Rey de Francia auiendo uiuido LII años y reynado mas de 32; era el Rey Francisco agraciado en muchas cosas, y assi representaua bien la dignidad real, y como de su natural fuese alegre, cortes, humano, y tratable, atraya mucho los hombres á le amar, y principalmente por ser muy liberal en dar, lo qual tanto mas en el reluzia, quanto el Rey Luis su suegro fuera por escaso aborrecido. Vsaua ordinariamente sus passatiempos, y algunos con mugeres 100 tan publico que sonaua mal para hombre casado. Hablaua su lengua mui bien, mas era largo, y assi las coplas que compuso son alabadas. Gouernó bien sus reynos, sino fué al principio, aunque los despechó demasiado, y tuuolos hasta la postre limpio de lutheranos, castigando los hereges, y cierto se pudiera contar por bueno y christianissimo Rey como se intitulaua, sino llamara al Turco en daño y escandalo de la Christiandad por odio y enemigo del Emperador Carlos, con el qual quiso competir y aun ygualarse, que fué sin duda causa y origen de infinitos 110 males y que no se pueden contar sin lagrimas. Esfuerçanse

los franceses y trauaján algunos italianos de igualar al Rey Francisco con Carlos Emperador, coteiando las virtudes del vno con las del otro, sin tocar al viuo en los vicios y faltas, mas no pueden, aunque añaden al Rey lo *que* quitan al Emperador, ca cierto es y publico *que* haze ventaja Carlos á Francisco en uida, justicia, y religion, *que* son proprias virtudes del ánimo, y en riquezas, señorios y victorias, que son de fortuna, por *que* unas vezes se alcançan y otras se pierden; y ni quebró su palabra despues de jurada, como hizo el Rey, ni mouió guerra segun de ella misma se puede colegir, mas el Rey, *que* jugaua como dizen á pagame, no me pagó, se la mouió siempre, como dezir en Flandes con Roberto de la Marca, y en Nauarra con Andres de Fox, contra lo que prometiera en Noyon, y en Nápoles con Lautrech, contra los capitulos de Madrid, que juró por su libertad, y en Perpiñan con el Delfin Enrique su hijo, contra las treguas de Niça. Quieren algunos aprouar las mudanças que con liuiandad y daño proprio suyo y aun con la deshonrra hazen los Reyes en las amistades y ligas, diziendo ser assi necessario y cumplidero, tanto por la conseruacion de sus reynos, como para el acresentamiento, y confirmanlo con exemplos del Rey Catholico Don Fernando, y del Rey de França Luis XII, y del Papa Julio II, que usaron mucho aquello, aun asaz seria mejor tener y guardar siempre las *que* vna vez tomasen, como ha hecho el Rey Sigismundo de Polonia con los turcos y como lo ha deseado el Emperador; mas como todos lo vsauan no tienen por tan malo, siendo tanto peor quanto el mal es mas comun, empero ninguno se confia del otro en negocios de estado, tan peligroso es. Començó pues Francisco á reynar con grande orgullo. Passó con ejército á Italia por nuevo camino, vençió los heguizaros en Milignan, ganó el Duquado de Milán, prendió al Duque Maximiliano Sforza. Trató por aquella prosperidad con el Papa Leon en Bolonia, donde se vieron, *que* le diesse titulo de Emperador de Constantinopla. Hizo luego en Noyon vn honrado trato de paz é amistad con Carlos Principe de Castilla, que acatamos agora por Emperador, con el qual, muerto el Emperador Maximiliano, competió del

Imperio con tanta porfia y ambicion *que* dixo que nunca ¹⁵⁰ serian los dos buenos amigos, lo qual cumplió hidalgamente, ca es cierto *que* desde allí le cobró tan mortal enemigo *que* le duró toda la vida, y *que* siempre lo mostró á la clara assi de palabra, hablando y escriuiendo del descortes y afrentosamente, como de obra, mouiendole guerras y solicitando contra el á christianos, turcos, moros y cosairos. La cosa *que* mas deseó fué ser Duque de Milan, segun el mismo confessaua, y por esso tornó á Italia para lo auer del Duque Francisco Sforza, *que* con ayuda del Papa Leon y del mismo Emperador lo cobrava, y conquistandolo fué ¹⁶⁰ preso y traydo á España, *que* le redobló la enemistad con increíble odio. Por ser suelto hizo y juró los conciertos de Madrid, y por no los cumplir ya como dizen se pudo lamer; reclamó de ellos como si fuera menor de edad, y reuoluió toda la christiandad pensando vengarse, de la qual rebuelta y liga se recrescieron las guerras de Lombardia, el saco de Roma, la prision del Papa, el cerco de Nápoles, la empreça de Serdenha, la batalla de mar *que* perdió Don Hugo de Moncada, y los desafios suyos, y del Rey de Inglaterra con el Emperador, empero *que* no le aprouechaua nada todo ¹⁷⁰ aquello contra la potencia y consejo del Emperador, *que* todos los otros llamauan ventura. Se huuo de doblar á tomar partido con el, casando su hermana y pagando su talla para cobrar los Delphines, que dexara por rehenes en España mas *que* perdiesse la enemiga. Ca luego se uió con el Rey de Inglaterra para nouedades, y con el Papa Clemente sobre auer Milan, y començó á tratar con Barbaroxa y con el gran Turco para dañar al Emperador en el reyno de Napoles por armada, con que Andre Doria le auia dexado. Vsurpó el Ducado de Sauoya con el Piamonte para tener facil entrada ¹⁸⁰ con ejército á Milán, imaginando *que* por alli ganara el Reyno de Napoles y assi tomar vengança del Emperador su enemigo, para lo qual hiço venir á Barbaroxa con la flota del Turco en aquellas partes, y á Soliman con ejército á la Cimera, y tras esto, como no le sucedieron bien sus propósitos, hizo treguas en Niça, donde vino el Papa. Estuuieron luego juntos el y el Emperador en Aguas Muertas, y no mucho

despues en Paris, por todo lo qual se pensaua que nunca mas veniera guerra entre los dos. Pero el Rey, por *que* no
190 le daua el Emperador á Milan como lo desia, mouió la guerra por Luxemburg, Artoys, Brabante y Rossellon, trayendo el armada del Turco con Barbaroxa so color *que* auia el Emperador quebrado las treguas de Niça en la muerte de Cesar Fragoso y Hernando Rinçon, y assi tiró la guerra dentro en Francia, *que* le hizieron el Rey de Inglaterra en Picardia, y el Emperador hasta Chalon, pero al mayor fuego de la guerra, y *que* alçauan los del pays su ropa, huuo pazes. Lo *que* passó con el Rey de Inglaterra, Enrrique octauo, es en suma *que* hizo pazes con el tres uezes, y guerra dos, sin
200 las del Rey de Scozia, y se vieron otras dos vezes ó mas entrambos.

El motin contra españoles en Nápoles que dura tres dias, porque justició el virrey don Pedro de Toledo dos manceuos ciudadanos que quitaron vn clérigo á los Alguaziles, y por que quiso prender sobre aquel alboroto á Cesar Mormilla, aunque la principal brega fué porque vna española quebró el braço á un napolitano con vn mortero de piedra *que* arojó de su ventana.

La rebuelta *que* hiço en Genoua el Conde Juan Luis de
210 Fresco, en la qual murió el y Juanetin de Oria, gentil cápitán de mar.

Manda passar el Papa el Concilio de Trento á Boloña por *que* no se hiziesse, ca no le cumplia, pero los mas obispos españoles no se mudaron.

Llama el Papa la gente *que* tenia con el Duque Octauio Farnes su nieto, ayudando al Emperador, ca le pesaua de su victoria y prosperidad.

Renueua el Rey Enrrique de Francia la aliança *que* su padre Francisco tenia con los esguícaros por toda su vida, dexando lugar al Papa y á los Reyes de Portugal, Polonia,
220 Scosia, y Dinamarca y otros Duques. Y matan al Duque Pier Luis Farnes en su propria fortaleza por tirano y frances, y á la voluntad del regimiento de Plaçencia, los Condes Agostin Lando, Juan Anguisciola, Geronimo y Alexandro Palaucini. Cuelganle por el pie de vna ventana

que todos lo viesén, y hechanlo despues en la caua donde lo vltrajaron, segun merecian sus malas obras, ca fué cruel y grandissimo sodomita, y aun forçó vn obispo, el qual murió de aquel enojo y afrenta.

Plazencia se da por el Emperador á Don Fernando ²³⁰ Gonzaga.

Hazen liga *que* nombraron defensiua el Papa Paulo III y el Rey Henrique de Francia y esguizaros contra el Emperador, temiendo de su poder y justicia, el Rey por lo de Sauoya, y el Papa por lo del concilio y por lo de Plazencia.

Estan en Aranda de Duero los Consejos, mientras el Principe Don Phelipe tiene Cortes en Monçon.

Muere Francisco de los Couos en Vbeda donde nació, el qual de vn escriuiente de Lope de Conchillos vino á ser comendador mayor de Leon, S^r de Sabiote y riquísimo, y á ²⁴⁰ casar vna hija con el Duque de Sessa y conde de Cabra, Don Gonçalo Hernandes de Cordoua, nieto del gran capitan, y un hijo con Doña N. de Luna, Marquesa de Camaraça. Era gordo, de buen rostro, alegre, regocijado, y assi tenia dulce conuersacion, era diligente, y secreto, por donde alcançó la gracia del Emperador asas cumplidamente, ca muchos años pasaron por su mano todos los negocios assi de Italia como de Indias y España, y con esso uuo el adelantamiento de Caçorla para su hijo Don Diego de los Cobos en juro de heredad, *que* fue baxesa del cardenal Juan Tauera, arçobispo de ²⁵⁰ Toledo, *que* por auer la primacia lo sufrió todo. Era muy ambicioso y assi abatió los otros secretarios y hombres de negocios como al secretario Antonio Villegas y á Juan Aleman. Tuuo todos los officios casi de Castilla *que* tocauan á la Secretaria y *que* vacaron en su tiempo, y los de Indias, y sobre los de Italia estuuu mal con Diego de Idiaquez su hechura y criado, por *que* no tenia el escritorio en su casa. Era codicioso y escaso, y tomaua presentes con ambas manos, *que* lo enriquecieron demasadamente; era amigo de sus amigos y assi hizo por muchos *que* no lo ²⁶⁰ merecian, no sin afrenta de buenos, y aun quitaua officios y beneficios y pensiones á quien el Emperador los queria dar, para los quales nombraua, por lo qual fué de muchos

notado y maldito, y aun á la postre se lo conoçió el Emperador en los negocios de los parientes de su yerno y de su muger Doña Maria de *Mendoça*, hija del adelantado de Galicia. Holgaua mucho de jugar á la primera y conuersacion de mugeres, diziendo que por recreaçion de los negocios estuuu muchos días enfermo. Mostró mucho *que* 270 le pesaua morir, y no creia su muerte, por lo qual murió no con buena fama.

Comiença de auer chancelleria en la Nueva Granada de Indias.

Muere Fernando Cortes capitan muy ill^e, y que se puede poner entre los muy esclarecidos de *nuestros* años.

Treguas por cinco años entre Soliman y el Rey de romanos y el Emperador.

El statuto *que* hiço el arço^o de Toledo, Juan Martines Siliceo, para la limpieza de aquella S^{ta} Iglesia, que sin duda 280 escozió mucho á los que vienen de judios.

Escruió las cosas de los Reys Luis y Francisco en latin Arnaldo Feron de Bordeaux, el qual no es mal autor, aunque habla de ligero como franceses y contra españoles.

Escruió tambien de los mismos Reyes en Francia Nicolas Gilles.

Hazen los aragoneses por cortes de Monçon y con voluntad del Principe su coronista á Jerónimo de Çurita, hombre docto, cuerdo, y mui de bien, el qual escriue la historia de los Reyes de Aragón y condes de Barçelona, diligente, 290 clara, y uerdaderamente, y otra, *que* nombra de las empressas del Rey don Fernando el Catholico, *que* contiene las cosas succedidas desde *que* tomó á Granada hasta su muerte.

Año de 1548

Ordena el Emperador en Augusta dieta, y conseja *que* todos los hereges de Alemania guarden, entretanto *que* por universal concilio otra cosa fuere determinada, XII articulos, *que* son el peccado original, la redempcion, la justificacion, las obras, la remission de los peccados, la missa, los santos, la resurreccion, la comunion, las ceremonias, y todos los

sacramentos de la Iglesia, y autoridad de los Papas y ministros.

No pasan por el entretanto muchos señores y ciudades lutheranos auéndolo prometido, por lo qual tientan dos mil ¹⁰ españoles á tomar Constancia, mas no pueden, muriendo su maestre de campo Alonso Vivas, napolitano, empero lo *que* no se pudo hacer por fuerça se hiço luego por maña.

El Principe Don Felipe tiene cortes en Valladolid *que* fueron largas y malas; allí se pidió *que* no se matasse para carnicerías ninguna res embra nueva, por que se multiplicassen los ganados, *que* todo el reino desempeñaria las Molucas, por que se la dexassen gozar seis años solamente, mas el Emperador no lo quiso escuchar, como buen her- ²⁰ mano de sus hermanos ó por la trampa del empeño.

Este año fue seco, fulto y caro. Valió en Valladolid á 7 maravedis la libra de vaca y la de carnero á diez y medio, y la de azeite á 19, y valiera mucho mas sino por el de balena; valió á 21 la libra de candelos de seuo, y á 12 la de peras y uvas y ciruelas, y á 4 mrs la carga de agua, y á otros quatro el arnero de paja, precios *que* nunca se auian visto en Castilla.

Apazigua el L^{do} Pedro Gasca, *que* agora es obispo de Placencia, las prouincias del Pirú, haziendo degollar tras la ³⁰ batalla de Xaquixaguana á Gonçalo Pizarro, y repartiendo millon y medio, *que* fué cosa notable.

Pone casa en Valladolid el Principe Don Phelipe á la borgoñona, desautorizando la castellana, que por sola su antigüedad se deuia guardar. Fué mayordomo mayor el Duque de Alua, y mayordomos Don Pedro Giron, Conde de Oliuares, Don Pedro de Auila, Marques de las Nauas, Gutierre Lopez de Padilla y Don Diego de Azeredo. Fué caualleriço mayor Don Antonio de Toledo de la orden de San Juan, y tuuieron la camara Don An^{to} ⁴⁰ de Rojas, Ruy Gomes de Silua, Don Juan de Silua, Conde de Cifuentes, Don Juan de Benauides y Don Fadrique de Toledo, comendador mayor de Calatraua. Don Gomes de Figueroa, *que* despues heredó el condado de Feria, fué

capitan de la guarda española, y de Alemania vn Tudesco, y de los Archeros el Conde de Hornes. Fueron de la boca muchos mayorasgos y principales caualleros.

Casamiento del archiduque Maximiliano, hijo del Rey de Romanos, con la Infanta Doña Maria, hija del Emperador en
50 Valladolid; salió á los reciuir en Oliuares el Condestable Don Pedro Fernandes de Vellasco, acompañado de muchos caualleros, y con grandissima casa y despensa.

Procura fray Bartolome de las Casas, obispo de Chiappa, estoruar la Historia General y Natural de Indias, que Gonçalo Hernandez de Ouyedo cronista mostró al Consejo Real de Castilla para la imprimir.

Passa el Principe á Italia en las galeras y otras naos armadas, como lo escriuió su criado y hombre docto Juan Christoual Caluete, en el felicissimo viage.

60 Son gouernadores de Castilla y Aragón el archiduque Maximiliano y la Infanta Doña Maria su muger.

Desuedanse las mulas, auiendo muchos pagado poco antes á L ducados por la licencia.

Publican su liga defensiua el Papa, y el Rey de Francia y los Suyzos.

Lleua presos á Brussellas el Emperador al Duque de Saxonia y al Lantgraue.

Leuantanse contra el R y los de Bordeaux y Poitiers sobre *que* los encareçia la sal. Pero el Condestable Ana de
70 Montmorency fue con exército, y los castigó, degollando los principes comuneros, tomandoles armas y preuilegios á todos, derriuando las casas de ayuntamiento y haziendo de las campañas artilleria. Siempre que las comunidades no salen con su intención no solamente se pierden, en pero hazen mas rico y poderoso al Sr, como estas, y las de Bohemia, y las de Gente, y las de Inglaterra y las de Castilla, aun *que* no vsó en aquellas del rigor el Emperador.

Trae á Francia el Rey Enrique á la Reyna de Escosia su sobrina y menor de siete años por auer aquel reyno.

80 Muere Sigismundo, que reinó prosperamente 42 años en Polonia y viuió 80. Huuo muchas victorias de Tartaros, Moschouitas, y Maldauos, guardó mucho la amistad de los

Turcos, escarmentando en sus vezinos. Convertió á Lithuania y fué buen christiano.

Muere Maximiliano, conde de Buren, en Flandes, que fue mui gentil Capitan, y gouernador prudente, pero sin letras, y amigo de virtuosos y hombres vnicos en algun arte. Murió en la hora y punto *que* dixeron los medicos, y dixeronlo muchos dias antes; assi dispuso de sí bien y alegremente. 90

Gana Hamet Xerif, Rey que se hizo de Marruecos, á Fez, el qual segun fama tenia ochenta mil peones y cinquenta mil de cauallo, los quinze mil negros, y muy muchos camellos, y veynte mil picas que uvo de Francia con otras armas y municiones, ca se carteaua con el Rey Enrrique.

Julian Mostafa hijo de Soliman y de Roxalana se passó al Sophi, tambien de temor que no le matasse su hermano Selim pero de otra muger de su padre, que llamauan Jalbahat Asacqui por ante el Imperio.

Guerra en Tauris de turcos con sofianos, en la qual y por 100 pestilencia murieron mas de DCLX mil soldados.

Año de 1549

Llega el Principe Don Felipe á Brusselas, donde le esperaua con gran deseo su padre, acompañado de las reynas viudas de Francia y Vngria sus hermanas.

Juran al Principe por señor todos los estados de Flandes y tierra *que* llaman baxa, cada vno por sí, *que* á todos los anduuo.

Quedan estos estados de Flandes, *que* hasta aqui eran como bienes partibles por mayorazgo, libres para el hijo mayor.

Piden los moriscos de Aragon *que* los vueluan moros pues 10 la fe no quiere fuerça, y no los desfauorecen sus señores.

Los Boemios, dexando su antigua custumbre y libertad de hazer Rey á quien quisieren, toman por Rey á Maximiliano archiduque de Austria, con juramento para el y para sus descendientes, *que* lleuó mas fuerça que razon.

Perdona Maximiliano la vida á un Jorge Dias gallego de Cabo Porferrada, que lo lleuauan á asaetear en Valladolid

los alcaldes de la hermandad por ladron, cosa nueva en Castilla.

- ²⁰ Este año y el passado hechan suertes con licencia Francisco de Artiaga y Pedro Gomez su hermano, traperos de sus Altezas. Acaeció poco despues á Pedro Gomez de Artiaga ganar al juego mas de nouenta mil escudos en dineros. Condenaronle los alcaldes de Corte por tatur en seis cientos ducados de pena, y que no jugase mas, pero el pagando la pena, apeló del vedamiento ó por vicio de jugar, ó por que aun no acauó de pagar sus deudas con tan grande ganancia.

Toma Don Bernardino de Mendoça con las galeras iv nauios de Francia con armas para el Xarif.

- ³⁰ Gana el Xarif á Argel y á Velez de Gomara y algunas fuerças *que* portugueses tenian en Berberia.

Boacen Rey de Veles fué á Flandes á pedir al Emperador como su aliado ayuda contra el Xarif, mas nunca lo uvo, y por esso se juntó con los turcos de Argel y cobró su estado.

- Ay diferencias entre los canonigos de Valladolid y el arçobispo de Santiago Don Pedro Manuel capellan mayor, sobre quien haria el officio de Corpus Christi por que salia á la procession el Rey Maximiliano; y por que no fueron á ella los de la Iglesia mayor, desterraron cinco á Portugal
- ⁴⁰ y castigaron al cabildo segun cada vno tuuo culpa.

Está bien desterrado el Prouincial de Castilla de los frayles franciscos, por que no consentió á las monjas de las Gordillas que recuiesen á la Marquesa de Monte Mayor.

Hazen gran diligencia los oydores del Consejo Real, tomando los libros de los mercaderes en toda Castilla por saber como y quien sacaua el oro fuera, pero no se pudo remediar siendo cierto que nos saquean.

Falt.

Año de 1550

El recuento de Don Bernardino de Mendoça con ciertos cosarios.

La vitoria *que* uuo Gasca de los Contreras.

La toma de Africa que hizo Juan de Vega, virrey de Scicilia.

Amistad del Rey Enrrique de Francia con el de Inglaterra Duarte VI, el qual fué como muchacho engañado, ca voluió á Boloña por mal consejo de los suyos.

Sube la moneda en Francia el Rey Enrrique, por *que* no se la saquen de sus reynos, y por *que* le vaya de fuera. 10

Muere Nicolas Perenot Sr de Granuela, *que* tuuo muy grande amistad con el Emperador, cuyo embaxador y secretario y consejero fue mucho tiempo en todos sus negocios, especial con franceses y alemanes. Era hombre callado y negociador, y graue para no ser de linaje. Enriquizióse mucho, no se si bien, vengósse dissimuladamente de sus enemigos que llamaua inuidiosos, como fueron el confesor fray Pedro de Sota y el L^{do} Juan de Figueroa, dexó muchos hijos, y todos bien puestos, mayormente al Secretario Antonio Perenot obispo de Arras, *que* sin duda es principal 20 persona en negocios, consejo, lenguas y aun letras.

Muere Azan Rey de Tunez.

Año de 1551

Vuelue á España el Principe Don Phelipe.

Juran los Nauarros al Principe en Tudela.

Lleua Maximiliano á la Reyna Dona Maria su Muger á Bohemia.

Toma Leon Strozi Prior de Capua con 27 galeras francesas vna galera española en Barcelona y ciertos naos, siendo tregua.

Toma assi mismo el Rey de Francia 13 vlcas con ricas mercaderias, estando en sus puertos, *que* fué romper la guerra.

Toma Sinan Turco á Tripol de Berberia, con trato de 10 franceses.

Conciertasse con el Rey de Francia el Duque Octauio Farnes, dexando al Emperador su suegro, que fué causa de muchas guerras.

Torna el Consilio á Trento por bula del Papa Julio III con gran esperanza que se acauaria con bien.

Cerca el Papa Julio á Parma y á la Mirandola con ayuda del Emperador, mas en valde.

Haze treguas Hamed Rey de Tunez con Don Nuño de

20 la Cueva, prometiendo de guardar las capitulaciones de su padre Azan con el Emperador.

Pierde Antonio de Orio 8 galeras con tormenta en Pantalea, yendo a prouar á Africa.

Ha el Rey de Romanos la Transilvania, por conciertos de fray Jorge de Croacia, trayendo á Viena á la Reyna Isabel y á su hijo Esteuan.

Guerra en Transilvania de turcos con el Bollorbey de Grecia y del Rey de romanos con Juan Bap^{ta} Castaldo, en la qual auia vn tercio de españoles con el maestre de campo
30 Aldaua.

Muere á hierro en Vins, y en manos de Sforza Palauezin y de Marco Antonio Ferro, Secretario de Juan Bap^{ta}, el Cardenal fray Jorge de Croacia, obispo de Baradin, por *que* se concordaua con los turcos contra el Rey de Romanos. El Papa mostró gran rigor por la muerte del Cardenal, descomulgando los hechores y consentidores.

Vasse al Rey de Francia el Principe de Salerno, Don Fernando de San Seuerino, por enemistad del virrey Don Pedro de Toledo, que le halló sus aleuosos tratos.

40 Haze tomar la Reyna Maria algunas mercadorias de franceses en Flandes por lo de las vlcas.

Conciertasse con muchos alemanes el Rey Enrrique de Francia, contra el Emperador.

Entra en Lorena el Rey de Francia y apoderase del Duque Carlos, diziendo á la Duquesa Christiana, su madre, *que* lo casaria con vna de sus hijas.

Toma el Rey de Francia á Metz de Lorena, llevando mas de L compañías de soldados y tres regimientos que llaman de alemanes con Sebastian Xertel, Ringraue, y Rincors, y
50 mil y quinientos hombres de armas, y dos mil y quinientos cauallos ligeros.

Entrando el Rey de Francia con exército en Alemania, toma primeramente á Argentina y á Hagenau y á otros lugares por amistad. Mas luego se voluió por que assi quisieron los que le llamaron, y por entrar exército flamenco en sus tierras.

Tomó el Conde Adrian de Reulx á Stenay con hasta

quatro mil de caualllo y cerca de XX mil peones, estando dentro Bordillon.

Gana el Rey de Francia Damuillers, y Iuoys y Bullon 60 y otros lugares.

Hasta aqui escriue Marco Guazo, el qual, aunque sus mismos Ytalianos le llaman charlatan, haze mucha diligencia para su historia.

Año de 1552

Fauorece al Duque Mauricio el Rey de Francia contra el Emperador, concertandose por medio de Juan Fragnino obispo de Bayona.

Haze salir de Ispruch mal pareciendo al Emperador el Duque Mauricio, por que no soltaua á Lantgraue su suegro.

Suelta el Emperador al Duque Fadrique de Saxonia.

Hace cruel guerra el Marques Alberto de Brandenbourg á Wolfango, maestre de Prussia, y á Nuremberg, ciudad muy rica, y á los obispos de Bamberg y Francfort, Worms, Spira, Moguntia y Treuires.

Concordia del Emperador con el Duque Mauricio, lo qual hizo el Rey D. Fr^{do} en Passau para soltar al Lantgraue.

Hechan fuera los de Sena á Don Françes de Alaua, que tenia seis cientos españoles, con fauor del Rey de Francia, á quien se dieron y en guarnicion. Deriuau la fortaleza que auia hecho en la ciudad Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza embaxador en Roma, al qual culpan los nuestros por esta guerra, y aun los seneses dizen que por matarlo mataron al caualllo en que andaua vn dia paseando la fortaleza.

Tienen cortes en Monçon el Principe con pocos poderes. 10 20

La honrrada batalla cerca de Oran, en que Don Martin de Cordoua con II mil de acaualllo y V mil peones españoles prendió al Rey de Tremecen, que traya XXX mil moros almere Solejman.

Va la Infanta Doña Juana á casarse á Portugal con el Principe Don Juan; acompañaronla Don Pedro de Acosta, obispo de Osma, Don Diego Lopez Pacheco, Duque de Escalona, Luis Vanegas, Apozentador Mayor, y Lorenço Perez, embaxador del Rey de Portugal; receuieronla en Caya el Duque de Aueyro y el obispo de Coimbra.

Toma Sinan Turco VII galeras al Principe Andre Doria en las Ponças.

Cerca el Emperador á Metz de Lorena por Octubre, con el mayor exército que nunca juntó á su propria costa, ca tenia por lista de sueldo VI mil españoles, IV mil italianos, XLIX mil alemanes altos y baxos, V mil gastadores, X mil de caualllo y mas los de su corte, CXXVII pieças de artelleria, XVII mil pelotas, IV mil quintales de poluora y VI mil caualllos de artelleria y munijiones ; era su Capitan General
40 el Duque de Alua.

Lleua gran exército Bustan Bassa contra el Sophi, y pierde mucha gente, no quiriendo pelear los janizaros contra Mostafa.

Ganan los turcos á Timezuar en Transiluania, y otros pueblos del Rey de romanos.

Andan grandes guerras y rebueltas en Valachia.

Año de 1553

Haze gran perdida de gente y caualllos el Emperador sobre Mets por pestilencia y frialdad, á cuya causa lleuantó el çerco.

Muere sobre Terouana el conde Adrian de Reux, Capitan general del Emperador allí, que fué su mayordomo mayor, de quien su Mag^d se confió mucho en grandes hechos.

Toma y assoladeria de Teruana, lugar fortissimo, siendo Capitan general del Emperador Pheliberto Emmanuel, Principe de Piamonte, y *maestre* de campo de los españoles, por
10 cuyo esfuerço se tomó, Don Juan Veles de Gueuara.

La toma de Hesdin, cuyo Castillo era muy fuerte, por el Principe de Piamonte, siendo Coronel de los españoles Luis Mendes Quixada de V^agarcia, mayordomo del Emperador.

Muere Don Pedro de Toledo en Florencia, viniendo acercar á Sena, el qual fué por su muger marques de V^afranca, y por su valor Comendador de Açuaya, y virrey de Napoles. Hera hombre graue y de autoridad, y assi representaua muy bien el cargo ; vsó bien su officio, por lo qual fué de muchos mal quisto, aunque tambien era rezio ; sacó muchos dineros
20 para el Emperador de aquel reino, por uia de seruiçios y

emprestidos, ennobleció mucho la ciudad con fuentes, calles y enladrillados, y con el Casti^llo de San Martin que hiço fortissimo. Assi mismo fué tahir, comedor y presumido.

Siguiendo el Rey de Francia Enrrique al exército imperial, llega con el suyo muy poderoso al Emperador y con asonada de batalla á Valencianos, donde poco antes entrava el Emperador, mas voluióse á mas andar, viendo de cara á los pocos españoles que lo esperauan fuera del pueblo.

Trata el Principe Don Phelipe de casarse con la Infanta Doña Maria de Portugal, hija del Rey Don Manuel y hermana ³⁰ de la Imperatriz su *madre*, impedimiento grandissimo.

Hace grandes *mercedes* de su hazienda propria el Principe á Ruy Gomes de Silua, que casó con hija heredera del Conde de Mileto, y á Juan de Benauides, *que* casó tambien con la heredera de Don Pedro de Nauarra, Marques de Cortes.

Muere D^{te} 6º Rey de Inglatierra con sospecha de ponçona en edad de 16 años, el qual dexó por sus sucessores del Reyno, teniendo dos hermanas, á sus primas, hijas de Maria *que* casó con el Rey de Francia Luis 12 y despues con Carlos Brandon Duque de Sufolc, á inducimiento del Duque ⁴⁰ Juan de Nortumbreland, su ayo y su tutor. Pregona el Duque de Nortumbreland por Reyna de Inglatierra á Juana, hija mayor de Maria que fue Reyna de Francia y del Duque Sufolc, la qual era su nuera, casada con su hijo Geliber conde de Bauric.

Maria Princesa de Gales, hija mayor y legitima de Enrrique octauo, se llama Reyna de Inglaterra. Haçe gente, sale al campo, y espera al Duque de Nortumbreland á la batalla y que iua contra ella con exército, el qual se le dió sin pelear, y donde á poco fue degollado por traydor, y despues su hijo ⁵⁰ Giluert y su nuera.

Traen la armada del Turco para el Rey de Francia el Principe de Salerno y el embaxador.

Toman los turcos á Bonefacio de Corçega para el Rey de Francia, por trayçion de Antonio Caneto ginoves.

Traya el Rey de Francia 130 banderas de soldados y 6 M. hombres y mas de cauall^o.

Año de 1554

Muere Don Juan, Principe de Portugal, dexando su muger preñada.

Naçe D. Sebastian Principe de Portugal, *que* oy reyna.

Passa el Principe Don Ph^e á casar con la Reyna Maria de Inglatierra.

Gouierna en Castilla y Aragon la Infanta princesa Dona Juana, recién viuda. Comienza á ser maestro del Iff^{te} Don Carlos *nuestro* Señor Honorato Juan, cauallero valenciano, hombre de muchas letras, prudente, graue, honesto, discreto, 10 y cabal para el cargo, y que fué tambien escogido para enseñar al Rey *nuestro* señor, quando querria quitar á Siliceo el Emperador.

Renuncia el Emperador en su hijo el Reyno de Napoles y el Ducado de Milan, la qual renunciacion, que lleuó el Regente Figueroa, se publicó en Vinesere donde se veló con la Reyna.

Toma el marischal de Francia Andor á Marienbourg lugar fuerte, por flaqueza del Capitan Martin.

Gana el Rey de Francia Enrrique á Dinan combatiendo 20 con 30 M soldados, de los quales heran 8 M lansquenets y otros ocho mil suizos y con 6 M cauallos y grande artelleria; fué preso ay el capitan Julyan Romero, *que* auia poco antes entrado con algunos españoles saliendo á tratar de rendirse, *que* fue su culpa y poco sauer. Pocas vezes moran en vno valentia y prudencia.

Entra el Rey de Francia con su ejército quemando el Condado de Henau, y destruye á Bins y á Marimont, lugares deleytosos de la Reyna Maria.

Cerca el Rey de Francia á Renti, con que puso miedo y 30 trubacion en las tierras del Emperador.

La batalla cabe Renti que huuieron el Emperador y el Rey de Francia, en la qual venciendo los españoles arcabuzaros al principio con el Capitan A^o Nauarrete, fueron al cauo desuaratados.

Dexa el cerco de Renti el Rey de Francia temiendo, aunque

hiço alegrías por la de Renti, como auia ganado ciertas pieças de artilleria y muchas banderas.

Sigue el Rey de Francia al Emperador, haziendo talas y quemas.

Funda el Emperador á Hesdin fuerte con gran costa, por 40 ser importante.

La guerra de Córçega entre francezes, cuyo capitan era Paulo de Termes, y guinoueses, á quien ayudaua el Emperador con dineros y soldados españoles, de los quales fué coronel Don Alonso Luis de Lugo, adelantado de Tenerife.

El cerco de Sena que puso Juan Jacobo Medecin, Marques de Marignan, por parte del Emperador y del Duque Cosme de Florencia.

Rompe á Basiana Pº Strozzi al Marques de Marignan.

Muere cerca de Escarlino de vna arcabuzada Leon Strozzi 50 prior de Capua, capitan de las guerras de Francia, en quien mucho esperauan los florentines desterrados, queriendo fauorecer los franceses.

La batalla de Ponda, que contra Pedro Strozi, Capitan general de las galeras de Francia, vencieron el Marques de Marignan Don Juan Manrique de Lara que asistia en los negocios de Roma, Don Juan de Luna alcaide de Milan, Marco Antonio Colona y Mario de Sª Flor.

Vencen otra vez los mismos en Marçiano al proprio Pedro Strozi en batalla muy sangrienta, que fue quebrar el coraçon 60 á franceses, y aun á seneses, ca mataron mucha gente con casi todos los capitanes y alferez y tomaron nueue banderas.

Vence tambien por otra parte Fadrique Colona á Paulo de Termes, que venia de Corçega con mucha gente á socorrer á Pº Strozi, y gana en la batalla 17 banderas francesas.

Roba Dragut Cossario con armada del Turco *que* traya en fauor del Rey de Francia á Besteze de Pulla, lugar del Duque de Sessa.

Ligas de muchas ciudades, obispados y señorios alemanes, contra el Marques Alberto de Brandenburg.

Año de 1555

Vueluen los ingleses á ser christianos como solian, dexando todas sus heregias y errores por bondad del Rey Phelipe y de la Reyna Maria, su muger.

Muere la Reyna Dona Juana madre del Emperador en Tordesillas, donde viuió sin reynar cerca de L años.

Hace vna fortaleza fortissima el Emperador cerca de Marienburg.

La triste perdida de Bugia, que ganaron los turcos por culpa de Don Alonso de Peralta, auiendolo conseruado y
10 defendido España 35 años.

Sena se rinde por el Emperador, al Marques de Marignan, 15 meses despues que la çercó.

Muere Julio Papa 3.

Muere tambien el Papa Marcelo II, al qual todos lloran y alaban, que no uiuió vn mes en el Pontificado.

Toma silla de S. Pedro el Papa Paulo 4º, que llamauan el Theatino, Napolitano y Carrafa, al qual fue por el Emperador á dar la obediencia Don Juan de Mendoça y Riuera, que
20 agora es embaxador en Portugal, cortesano de los viejos y sauios del Emperador y cauallero muy honrrado.

Va por el virrey del Perú Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça, Marques de Cañete.

Gouierna en Nápoles Don Bernardino de Mendoça, capitan de las galeras, estando el Duque de Alua en la guerra de Lombardia, y auiendose venido á Roma el Cardenal don Pedro Pacheco, que gouernaua.

Va por virrey g^{or} de Nápoles y Milan Don Fernando Aluares Duque de Alua, siendo remouido de Milan Don Fernando de Gonzaga con justas causas.

30 Toma por fuerça el Marques de Mariñan á Puerto Hercules, donde uvo saco y muertes, y se tomó vna galera francesa.

Mueue guerra el Marques Alberto de Brandenbourg en Alemaña, contra todos los que salieron contra el. Vençe al Marques Alberto de Brandenbourg en Alemaña, á la riuera

del Visurgis, el Duque Mauricio Elector, el qual, aunque ganó la vitoria, murió herido tras la batalla con dos hijos del Duque Henrrique Brunswick, y otra mucha gente. Hizieron grande matança los hombres de caualllo que llaman siuereuters, que lleuan á tres y á vna sinco arcabuzes. 40

Encarta el Emperador al Marques Alberto, por reuoltoso.

Passa el Rey Don Phelipe á Inglaterra, á Napoles, y á Flandes, y lo llamó el Imperador desde Bruselas.

Toma por fuerça y partido á Vlpian, que auia proueydo el Duque de Alua, el señor de la Male que tenia 4 M de caualllo y 22 mil de apie; estaua dentro Cesar de Nápoles, con mas de M hombres de guerra y en ellos muchos españoles.

Continuan con vitoria los *nuestros* la guerra contra 50 franceses.

Renuncia el Emperador en el Rey Don Phelippe su vnico hijo á Flandes con los otros estados de tierra baxa, por auto publico en Bruselas.

Toman los franceses del Marischal Brisac vna noche por austucia á Casal de Monferrat, donde estaua con gente Gomes Xuares de Figueroa, embaxador en Genoua, que á la sazón era gouernador de Milan, antes que fuese allá el Duque.

El tratado de paz que no se concluyó sobre auerlo 60 pensado mucho en Marcq entre Ardres, Cales, y Grauelingas, donde se juntaron, por parte del Emperador, Don Juan de la Cerda, Duque de Medinaceli, Ana Perenot, obispo de Arras, y los prizidentes Veglius y Briare, por parte del Rey de Françia el Cardenal Carlos de Lorena y los Obispos de Vanes y Vrliens y Carlos Marille y Claudio Laubispine, secretario de estado, y estaua tambien Reginaldo Polo Ingles, como legado del Papa y que procuraua mucho las pazes.

Toma el titulo de Cronista el D^{tor} Juan Paez de Castro, 70 que piensa escriuir la Historia General de España, hombre muy docto en muchas sciencias.

Cerca en valde á Santiago del Piamonte el Duque de

Alua. Guerra sobre Marienburg entre los exercitos imperial y frances.

El Papa, deserviendo vieja hypocrisia, muene guerra en odio del Emperador á Marco An^{to} Colona, tratando con el Rey de Francia de ganar el Reyno de Napoles.

Pelean *reziamente* ciertas hurcas flamencas con naues de
80 Diepe.

Año de 1556

Renuncia el Emperador en su hijo Phelipe por su uida libremente sus Reynos y señorios, que causó admiracion al mundo par la nouedad y grandeça del negocio, á 16 dias del mes de Enero, y en Bruselas; mas detuuu el imperio, auiendo tambien determinado de lo dexar al Rey de Romanos su hermano, por algunos grandes respectos; y vino por mar á España, trayendo consigo las Reynas sus hermanas, Doña Leonor y Maria, y recogióse á Juste, Monasterio de Geronimos, donde auia hecho haçer vna casa segun
10 el la traçó, para uiuir santa y descansadamente.

Difiende á Oran el Conde de Alcaudete, Don Martin de Cordoua, contra el armada del Turco y cosarios de Argel.

Cercan á Calui dos vezes y no lo toman, vna Paulo de Termes, y otra el capitan Polin S^r de Garde, en Corçega.

La guerra del Papa y Duque de Alua.

Sentencian por libre al L^{do} Vaca de Castro, auiendo estado prezo diez años, sobre *gouernacion* de Indias, el qual entra por su anciandad en el Consejo Real de Castilla.

Descubrese la requisima mina de Gual del Canal.

20 Atiende á la buena *gouernacion* de sus Reynos el Rey Don Phelippe, haziendo pazes ó treguas con el Rey de Francia.

Requiere con su amistad á muchos señores y caualleros de Alemania, dandoles dineros y pensiones.

Pone al Cardenal Cristoual Madrucio, obispo de Trento, por *gouernador* de Milan.

Pone assi mismo al Cardenal Don Francisco de *Mendoça* Obispo de Burgos y Arcediano de Toledo por *gouernador* en Sena, siendo muerto Don Francisco de Toledo, Archi-

mandrita de Scicilia, clérigo de negocios y honrra, que la 30
gouernaua.

Haçe gouernador de Flandes á su primo Feliberto Emmanuel, Duque de Sauoya, dándole por consejeros al Principe de Oranges y á los Condes de Egmont, Mega, Lalaing y otros caualleros principales y sauios.

Haze de su Consejo de Estado á Juan de Vega, Don Fernando de Gonzaga, Antonio Perrenot, Obispo de Arras, Don Juan Manrique de Lara, cauallero de Calatraua, Don Bernardino de Mendoça, capitan de las Galeras, Ruy Gomes de Silua, Conde de Melito, Don Antonio de Toledo, su 40
caualleriço mayor, y dende á poco á Don Luis de Auila, comendador mayor de Alcantara, y al *licenciado* Juan de Figueroa, presidente de la Chanceleria de Valladolid.

Da los negocios de estado á su secretario Gonzalo Perez, clérigo muy habil, y los otros negocios de Castilla y Italia al Secretario Martin de Vargas.

Muere Don Antonio de Rojas, ayo del Principe Don Carlos.

Es ayo del Principe Don Carlos *nuestro* Señor, Don Garcia de Toledo, cauallero de mucha bondad y virtud. 50

FIN.

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